



# BROADWAY TRANSLATIONS

*Age cannot wither her nor custom stale  
Her infinite variety*



SAPPHO

(From the bust in the Pitti Palace Florence)

Broadway Translations

SAPPHO  
THE POEMS AND FRAGMENTS

*Greek Text with an English Translation by*  
C. R. HAINES M.A. (Cantab), B.D., F.S.A.  
*and Introduction Notes Glossary etc.*

*With 20 Plates (comprising 43 Illustrations)*

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## TO SAPPHO

*Dimly we see thee in those far-off days  
Thy bosom glowing with Aeolian fire  
And Aphrodite's girdle of Desire  
Warming thy soul to love's entrancing lays  
Thy brows are circled still with living bays  
Which crown thy brave boast that the years to be  
O glorious Sappho should remember thee  
My stammering words are fain to tell thy praise,  
And echo in a strange barbarian tongue  
(How rude to strains that Lesbos made divine !)  
The magic music that thy lips have sung  
As deathless as old Homer's mighty line  
Which through all ages in our ears has rung  
Thou mortal Muse immortal as the Nine*

C R. H

Δῶρα χερὸς φίλας φανλῆς περ θαῦμα γυναικῶν  
Σαπφῶ τιττα δέχου αἶψα φάδρι βυλὲ μελῶν



## *SIGLA*

Marks Fragments not specifically attributed to Sappho in the authors where they occur

† Obelizes readings which are incurably corrupt.

— Under a Greek word in the Vocabulary means that it is conjecturally supplied

Under a letter in the same signifies that it is doubtfully read.

In the English versions words that have no counterpart in the Greek are italicised.





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\* Means a poem not certainly by Sappho

† Means a poem which is too mutilated to give any connected sense

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# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATE

- I A portrait bust in the Pitti Palace Florence taken for Sappho. A strong and passionate character is represented. Executed apparently about 330 B.C. it may perhaps be the work of some sculptor of the school of Skopas or Lysippos. *Frontispiece*
- II A view of Mitylene showing the Southern Harbour. By permission of Mr John Murray. *facing p 18*
- III This gives one side of the damaged hydria of the fifth century B.C. now at Athens (No. 1260) from a photograph kindly sent me by Mr Woodward of the British School at Athens. For a further description of the scene represented see on Plate XII. *facing p 32*
- IV A red figured vase of the fifth century B.C. from the Middleton Collection at Paris. Sappho seated with a scroll rolled up in her left hand, is being presented with a wreath by a winged Eros over whose out stretched arm is the enigmatical word ΤΑΛΑΞ. *facing p 48*
- V Five small autonomous coins of Lesbos made of electrum, an alloy of silver and gold and dating between 440 and 350 B.C.  
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No. 2 Reverse of same with a tortoise-shell lyre of four strings.  
No. 3 Obverse with head similar to that upon No. 1  
No. 4. Reverse of this with a square kithara of seven strings.  
No. 5 Obverse similar to the other two  
All these are in the British Museum and I have to thank Mr G. F. Hill for sending me the casts required. *facing p 56*

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATE

### VI Six bronze coins of Mitylene, about 350-250 B C

No 1 is in the British Museum

No 2 is in the Berlin Museum, and my thanks are due to Professor Regling for a cast

Nos 3 and 4 are in the British Museum, the reverse having upon it a four-stringed lyre with the inscription MYTI

No 5 is at Berlin

No 6 is from a coin figured by Imhoof-Blumer In this the hair is treated in a somewhat unusual fashion

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### VII These are Imperial bronze coins of the Antonine period (A D 140-190)

No 1 is the reverse of a probably unique coin of Antoninus Pius The name ΣΑΠΦΩ is just discernible opposite the head The fashion of the coiffure is not clear, but a tuft of hair is visible escaping at the back This coin like the others on this plate, is at Paris, and I have to thank M Babelon for kindly sending me the necessary casts

No 2 There appear to be only two examples of this interesting coin, the other, a poorer specimen, being in our National Collection The obverse has a striking head of Sappho (taken, no doubt, from a statue) with an unusual coiffure and features expressive of alertness and intellect

No 3, the reverse, has a lyre of four strings

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### VIII A bust in the British Museum (No 1828), a weaker and less stolid copy of the same type as the better known herm in the Galeria Geografica of the Vatican, with its sakkos for the hair and the two little spiral curls by the ears There is some resemblance to the head upon the bronze coins of Mitylene and Sappho is most probably intended

The "Castellani" bust in the British Museum (No 1829) There are a great many heads of this type, supposed to represent Sappho, in the various galleries of Europe, characterized by the open mouth, and the hair being held up by bands in sphendoné fashion

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## PLATE

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 No. 2. A cornelian from the Marlborough Collection. See, *ibid.*, plate lxix. 7. The inscription and the Bee (see below p. 64) and the lyre look like later additions.  
 No. 3. Formerly in the Abbé Gravelle Collection (see Reinach, *Pierres Gravées* plate lxxxi). Sappho is standing before a pillar with a lyre upon it, as in the coin given below (p. 150).  
 No. 4. The antiquity of this gem illustrated in Faber's *Imag.* 129 is very doubtful.  
 For another beautiful Sappho gem see the vignette on title page *facing p 74*
- XII This appears on the damaged hydria, of which a representation is given on Plate III. Sappho is reading from a scroll perhaps of her own poems, while one girl companion Nicopolis holds a wreath over her head, another Kallis holds a lyre out to her and behind her stands a third girl unnamed. The hair of all four is bound in the same fashion as in the Albani bust, and the date will be the fifth century *facing p 76*
- XIII A leaf from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri containing the fragment of the Nereid Ode with its probable reference to the return of Charaxus Sappho's brother from Egypt. The page is interesting also palaeographically for presenting us with an actual digamma in the second letter of line 6. For permission to use this illustration my thanks are due to the Egypt Exploration Society and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. *facing p 90*



PLATE

- XIV Sappho and Alcaeus on the Agrigentine crater of the fifth century B C, now at Munich As their names are inscribed, there can be no dispute about the ascription But the meaning of  $\Delta\text{AMA KALOS}$  is not clear On the same vase are depicted two figures very similar in character to these, pledging one another, he with a cantharus and she with a lecythus Whether they also represent Sappho and Alcaeus is not certain, but surely it is probable *facing p 104*
- XV The bust, or rather head, in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, for a photograph of which I have to thank especially the Director of the Gallery This is of the same general type as the "Castellani" bust (Plate IX), but with a much severer and sadder expression, perhaps not quite in keeping with our ideas of the muse-loving Sappho The chin, also, is too rounded *facing p 108*
- XVI The Sappho of the Terme Museum, in Rome (from a photograph by Bernard Ashmole) *facing p 120*
- XVII The so-called "Oxford" bust in the Ashmolean Museum, from a cast at Cambridge taken before the restoration of the nose This is one more of the many busts of allied type, such as those in the Palazzo Ricardi, in the Villa Borghesi, the Corneto Museum, and elsewhere The head is of Pheidian character, but it is doubtful whether the bust belongs to it, the bared breast of which does not suit our conception of Sappho *facing p 126*
- XVIII Imperial bronze coins of the second and third century A D from the Vienna Cabinet, for the casts of which I have to thank Dr Münsterberg
- No 1 The obverse bears the head of Nausicaa, a local benefactress of Mitylene, otherwise unknown The reverse, alone given here, represents Sappho sitting and playing on a four-stringed lyre, with the inscription  $\text{ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ ΙΕΡΟΙΤΑ ΜΥΤΙΑΗ}$  The same reverse occurs on coins of Julia Procla, as below
- No 2 The reverse of a unique coin of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Severus, struck between 193 and 214 A D Sappho is seen seated with a lyre resting on the seat at her left The legend is scarcely readable, but traces of  $\Sigma\text{ΑΠ}$  and  $\text{MV}$  are just visible
- No 3 An Antonine coin of Eresus, as the inscription on the obverse shows, on which is Hermes bearded and

## PLATE

wearing a petasus on a prow or base to l with a chlamys gathered on his left shoulder In his r is a caduceus and a horn of abundance. The reverse has ΣΑΦΦΩ and shows her sitting to l and holding in her extended right hand a plectrum or a roll Her left arm rests upon a lyre placed behind her on the seat.

No 4 The reverse of a hemidrachma of Syracuse now at Paris having the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ A female figure stands to l, on what may be a pedestal, with chiton and diploidion, the latter being belled behind her like a sail In her left hand is a small branch of laurel and her right holds a roll half opened on which there seem to be traces of letters. This figure has hitherto been taken to be Tycās but S Mirone gives reasons for supposing that Silanion's statue of Sappho may be here represented The date is the third century B C

No. 5. The reverse of a large brass of Gallienus (A D 258-67) on which we read

ΕΠΙΒΑΛ ΑΡΙCΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ  
with Sappho in chiton and peplos seated to r playing on a lyre.

No 6 The reverse of a coin of Mitylene having on its obverse a beautiful head of Julia Procla, styled like Nausicaa (No 1) ΗΡΩΙΣ She may have been the daughter of Flavia Publicia Nicomachis both being benefactresses to the town On the reverse we have ΕΠΙ C ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ with Sappho standing and holding or playing on a lyre placed upon a pillar

*facing p 150*

XIX This little bronze now in the British Museum came most probably from Magna Graecia, and was originally in the Payne Knight Collection. Its date is about 500 to 488 and so within a century of Sappho's death. The style is archaic and it probably formed part of some ornament.

*facing p 188*

A broken sard in the British Museum (No 556) of a date not later than 400 B C. A draped female figure possibly Sappho is shown reading from a scroll. In front of her is a pedestal with a lyre upon it. The word ΕΡΩC lightly scratched upon it, but not seen in the reproductions seems from the shape of the letters to be a later addition

*facing p 188*

## PLATE

- XX Sappho in reverie, from a terra cotta relief of Roman times, found in Rome and now in possession of a sculptor there (see Welcker, *Ant Denkm*, v, Taf 7, p 181) facing p 196
- Head on an electrum coin of Lesbos, given by Visconti (*Ikonogr Grec*, 1, Taf 3, No 4) p 225
- Sappho stepping in the dance with lyre in hand (see p 24) From Wolf's *Sappho*, frontispiece No 4, where the coin is described as Nummus argenteus ex *Hüb Goltzi Numismatis Graeciae*, tab xiv, insularum Graeciae num 8, qui etiam in *Celeb Hemsterhousii Polluce* ad p 1064 repraesentatur But there appears to be no silver coins with representations of Sappho upon them p 255
- The so-called "Sappho" at Vienna, but really Hygicia, as has been shown by Mr Bernard Ashmole, by whose permission I use this photograph Illustration on Jacket.

## PREFACE

Τόδε ἐκ Σάπφους ἀμελγόμενος μέλι τοι φέρω

Bergk *Adespota* 62

THE object of this book is to provide the general public with a popular yet I hope not unscholarly and a comprehensive edition of Sappho containing all that is so far known of her unique personality and her incomparable poems. No one is more aware than the writer how difficult a task it is to do justice to the subject. But I have endeavoured under some disadvantages to cover the field of research and to make the work as complete as I could. The necessary material however is voluminous and widely scattered and some of it beyond ordinary reach. A proper equipment for the task ought to include a visit to lovely Lesbos but *non curvis homini contingit adire Corinthum*.

My sincere acknowledgments are due to my many predecessors whose labours have alone made my own work possible and I wish to express my especial obligations to my old pupil Professor A. S. Hunt for the kind encouragement I have received from him and the permission accorded me by the Egypt Exploration Society to make use of his discoveries among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and to give a facsimile of the Nereid Ode. Mr Edmonds' scholarly edition of Sappho in the *Lyra Graeca* of the Loeb Series has of course been of invaluable service. Mr Lobel's edition has only come out when these pages were in their second proof. Professor Schubart, of Berlin has kindly allowed me to use his additional Fragments printed in that edition. In reproducing

objects of art and antiquity, I have received every assistance from Dr G F Hill and Mr A. H. Smith, of the British Museum, and my old friend and pupil, Mr E T Leeds, of the Ashmolean at Oxford, and Mr A B Cook, of the Museum of Classical Archæology at Cambridge. The great National Museums of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Florence, Rome, and Athens (through Mr Woodward of the British School) have shown me no less courtesy. Nor must I omit the names of Mr Penoyre, Librarian of the Hellenic Society, Mrs Strong, F S A, and Mr. J W E Pearce, who has kindly looked through the proofs, nor of Sir Alfred Mond, who supplied me with photographs of some of his Greek statuary, and Mr Bernard Ashmole, of Oxford, to whom I am similarly indebted.

My excuse for taking this work in hand must be that Mr Wharton's admirable and popular edition is now, owing to our advance in knowledge, out of date, and after serving its generation has, if we may say so without offence, "fallen on sleep," and may fairly give place to another on similar lines. One valuable feature of that edition was the very complete Bibliography, giving all the literature on Sappho up to the date of publication. Readers must not expect to find in the present edition any palmary emendations of the text. These have been for more competent hands to make, but now that Mr Lobel has for the first time established the canons of criticism for what is and what is not allowable in Sappho, the path of emendation is made clearer and safer.

After Joan of Arc Sappho marches at the head of woman-kind, and will repay all the study that can be given her. If this book enables others to know her better, I shall be satisfied.

C. R. HAINES.

*Petersfield.*

*March, 1926*

## INTRODUCTION

*Your praise shall still find room  
Even in the eyes of all posterity  
That wear this world out to the ending doom*

SHAK. *Sonnets* 55

Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἐτι καὶ μένουσιν  
ὠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες

### *The Remains of Sappho*

§ 1 With the possible exception of Shakespeare Homer is still the supreme poet and Sappho without any exception the poetess *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*<sup>1</sup> Not only are these two first in their art but they are also the first in time Homer has fared far better with posterity than Sappho though some centuries older We have his works more or less in full but we know next to nothing about his life With Sappho the case is reversed. The fragments of her poetry that have come down to us are lamentably small but on the other hand we can form some idea of her personality not only from what is said about her here and there by ancient authors but also from the little that we have of her actual writing Aristoxenus<sup>2</sup> the writer on Greek music tells us that Sappho and Alcaeus made confidants of their books and certainly there is much of a personal nature even in the little that we have of her works Being of a subjective lyrical character they naturally tell us much

<sup>1</sup> Galen, *Protrept.* 8 Anth. Pal. ix 26.

<sup>2</sup> See Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* ii, 1 30 Acron on the same says Anacreon. Wilamowitz (*Sappho & Sim.* p 15 n. 2) prefers Archilochus, which is much more likely

that is of value for a true conception of her personality and life, as well as for a correct appreciation of her genius

§ 2 Suidas informs us that the μέλη λυρικά of Sappho were arranged in nine books,<sup>1</sup> and we learn from Servius, the commentator on Vergil, that the Bridal Songs (ἐπιθαλάμια) were gathered into a separate book<sup>2</sup> It has been thought that there may have been two editions of Sappho current in Alexandrian times, the earlier, according to subject matter, probably arranged by the grammarian Aristophanes in the third century B C , the other, some half-century later, according to metres, for which Aristarchus, the famous grammarian, was responsible But we may surely suppose, judging from all likelihood and from the example of Horace, that Sappho herself, if she published her own works,<sup>3</sup> followed no such pedantic plan, certainly not that of Aristarchus I have therefore in this edition without hesitation discarded the metrical arrangement, which has for obvious reasons commended itself to editors hitherto, and have only attempted in a general way to group the fragments according to their generic character, as far as this is discernible<sup>4</sup> The broad scheme is this —

Fragments 1-4 stand by themselves, and are put at the beginning ,

5-32 refer to Sappho's circle and her social life in general ,

<sup>1</sup> Cf also Anth Pal vii, 17, below, p 221

<sup>2</sup> On Verg *Georg* i, 31, cf Pseud Dionys, *Rhet* (Usener, p 247) The Book was viii or ix See Wilam quoted in Pauly-Wissowa

<sup>3</sup> She is represented on early vase paintings as reading from a volume of poems, see below, p 77

<sup>4</sup> One or two may prove to be in wrong places, but these have been left where they are owing to the labour involved by any displacement of the numbers in the Index

- 33-55 (except 51 which is out of place and belongs to the section 71-87) are of a personal character  
 56-60 have reference to her claims to immortality as a poetess  
 61-70 give her philosophy of life as far as it remains to us  
 71-87 her allusions to Nature and its beauties  
 88-117 cletic poems invocations and references to Deities  
 118-151 epithalamia or bridal songs in general  
 152-173 various fragments that do not lend themselves to classification

Where single words only are recorded they will mostly be found in the vocabulary which is meant to contain every word which we possess of Sappho's

§ 3 We know from *Fragm. 142* that Sappho's first book in the edition followed by the papyrus contained 1320 lines. All the four books of the Odes of Horace together with the *Carmen Saeculare* contain only 3000 lines while the longest book the third has 1000 lines. It is of course possible that Sappho's first book containing all the poems in her favourite Sapphic metre was much longer than the others but even so we cannot suppose her total output to have been less than 8000 lines. Of all this we have to be at present as content as we can with less than the equivalent of 500 lines containing perhaps 2000 words all told. But this is not the worst. Even these meagre remains are in some cases full of corruptions and grievously mutilated. Many of them if not most have to be patched up or pieced together and the sense eked out by more or less precarious conjectures. We have not only to interpret Sappho's dreams but in many cases we are tempted in some well nigh forced to dream them for ourselves.



a perilous adventure, not lightly to be undertaken<sup>1</sup> Only two poems, out of perhaps five hundred, have come down to us quite complete in their numbers Fragm 3 probably stood first in the edition of Aristarchus according to metres, and is placed nearly in the same position here It is the famous *Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα*

*Vogue and Subsequent Loss of Sappho's Poems*

§ 4 We do not know by what means or through whose agency the poems of Sappho, numerous as they were, came to be collected and published It is not easy to imagine that in such early times she was able to issue an authoritative edition of her own Much of her work, however, must have survived among her friends and pupils of the "House of the Muses",<sup>2</sup> over which she presided, who were proud of her and cherished her memory Her lyrics soon found their way over Hellas The only contemporary anecdote which we have of Sappho, tells us that Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver, on hearing his nephew at a banquet sing one of Sappho's songs, was so delighted with it that he made the boy teach him the words there and then, and on being asked why he did so, answered "that I may not die before I have learnt it"<sup>3</sup> This must have occurred in the first half of the sixth century B C Two hundred years later we find a character in the Antilais of Epicrates<sup>4</sup> claiming to have learnt the songs of Sappho by heart And her songs were still being sung in Cicero's

<sup>1</sup> Mr Edmonds, in his recent edition (*Lyra Graeca*), has attempted it with much skill and ingenuity

<sup>2</sup> Fragm 61

<sup>3</sup> Aelian apud Stobaeum, 29, 58 The words "*ἵνα μαθὼν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω*" may mean "that as soon as I have learnt it I may die"

<sup>4</sup> Athen xiii, 605 E

time <sup>1</sup> in the end of the first century A.D. <sup>2</sup> in the second <sup>3</sup> and in the third.<sup>4</sup>

How much later the lyrics of Sappho survived to delight mankind is not certainly known. But various indications point to the conclusion that they were not wholly lost to the world till towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. We find quotations from Sappho though not (it appears) from Alcaeus in various grammarians till about that date. Their final loss the most irreparable which we have to deplore in the whole domain of pure literature due as it was partly to the general decadence of learning was accelerated no doubt by the unfamiliar dialect in which Sappho wrote. But we must attribute some share of the lamentable result to the bigoted hostility of the Church. Though the evidence is not quite conclusive we cannot wholly disregard the tradition that the works of Sappho among others came under the ban of the Hierarchy. The ascetic Tatian<sup>5</sup> had centuries before led the way by a violent attack upon Sappho and her writings in such general terms however as not to make us feel certain that he had any real acquaintance with her works. The public destruction of her writings seems to have taken place first at the end of the fourth century A.D. in the time of Gregory Nazianzen whose tedious if pious works were held to be a suitable and sufficient substitute. Cardan<sup>6</sup> about 1550 is our authority for

<sup>1</sup> Anth. Pal. v. 132. Hor., Od. iv. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Pyth. Or.* 6. *Symp.* vii., 8, 2. Dion Chrys. ii., 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gellius xix., 3.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. xiii., 605 E.

<sup>5</sup> *Orat. ad Græc.* 53 (circa 180 A.D.) *Ἐπεὶ οὐ γάρ τινος πορνεῖν δεῖ πρωτομαρτῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δολογίας φέβει.* He also calls her τῆς ἀλγῶς.

*De Sapientia* ii.

this, and he is partly corroborated by Peter Alcyonius,<sup>1</sup> who states that as a boy he heard from Demetrius Chalcondylas, that under the Byzantine Emperors the ecclesiastical authorities burnt the works of ancient Greek poets, especially those which contained *amores turpes lusus et nequitias amantium*, and he mentions expressly the poems of Sappho, Erinna, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcaeus. Further, Scaliger states that the works of Sappho and the other lyricists were burnt both at Rome and at Constantinople in 1073 under Gregory VII (Hildebrand). In fact, about this time, as above stated, Sappho's works did disappear. But it will still remain a question, why the far more reprehensible writings of Petronius, Martial, and others, not to mention the foul *Puerlia* of Straton in the Anthology, were still allowed to be copied by the pious hands of monks.

*Sources from which Sappho's Poems have been Recovered*

§ 5 Infinite pains have been taken by generations of scholars to repair the ravages of time, of ignorance, and of religious bigotry, by recovering every scrap of Sappho that can be found embedded in the whole of past literature. Examination will show that nearly fourscore sources have yielded their quota, here a little and there a little. Not all the extracts thus brought to light, which range from single words to several lines or stanzas, are attributed explicitly to Sappho in the places where they occur, but some, included here,<sup>2</sup> are conjecturally assigned to her, mostly by general consent, on considerations of dialect, style, and subject.

<sup>1</sup> *De Exilio*, p. 69, Leipzig, 1707, cf. also Blomfield, *Mus. Critic* 1, p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> Marked with an asterisk.

Until the wonderful discoveries of late years in Egypt there were only two considerable poems by Sappho known to us the Ode to Aphrodite already mentioned and the still more famous lyric to a beloved girl<sup>1</sup> describing in burning words and tumultuous imagery the whole passion of love. But now we have many stanzas and a considerable part of a narrative poem rescued from Egyptian rubbish heaps<sup>2</sup> the originals of which are mostly in Berlin or London. Unfortunately the owners of these papyrus rolls before throwing them into the waste-papyrus basket mostly tore them across perpendicularly. Consequently the lines are as a rule mutilated at the beginning or end or both<sup>3</sup> and in order to extract any coherent sense conjecture unsatisfactory and inconclusive as it always is must necessarily be employed. Even in the parts that remain many letters are so nearly obliterated that guesswork is inevitable<sup>4</sup>.

Yet in spite of all some of the newly recovered fragments such as the two beautiful poems now in Berlin<sup>5</sup> are a great addition to our knowledge of Sappho and her art. The XVth volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by Drs Grenfell and Hunt<sup>6</sup> contains a great number of small fragments of Sappho and also a few lines of a brief life of her a complete copy of which would have been most valuable. From the mention of Chamaeleon<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fragm. 4*. The name is apparently not given, unless we accept the emendations of Wilamowitz or Edmonds. Catallus in his paraphrase introduces the name Lesbia in the second stanza, where Edmonds suggests Brocheo or Brochea (Attic *Βραχέα* or *Βραχέα*).

<sup>2</sup> Thus happily contravening the Sapphic maxim, *πῆ κίρις χίραδος* *Fragm. 63*.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Fragm. 9* 87 107 etc.

<sup>4</sup> A dot placed under a letter means that it is doubtful a line under a letter or word shows that it is conjecturally added.

<sup>5</sup> *Fragm. 7* 8.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. xv 1787 1788.

<sup>7</sup> 1800 1 col. 2.

a philosopher and grammarian of the fourth century B C , who wrote a treatise on Sappho,<sup>1</sup> it is probable that the facts recorded by this epitomator were drawn from him. There are still hundreds of similar fragments, as yet undeciphered, in the hands of the same editors, and we may in the course of time look for some other small prizes, snatched from the realms of Orcus, or rather Osiris.

§ 6 Next to our obligations to the archæologists of Egypt, and apart from the great debt due to the transmitters to posterity of the two famous Odes,<sup>2</sup> we owe most to the third-century writer Athenæus in his *Deipnosophistæ*, a book which portrays the subjects discussed at literary banquets of the leading wits of the time. Other writers, who have given valuable extracts from or criticisms of the lost poems are Aristotle, Demetrius the rhetorician, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Dion of Prusa, Galen, and Aristides the Sophist. In the works of the last, whose rhetoric is of a poetical cast, many other reminiscences of Sappho no doubt still lurk, for his great friend Alexander of Cotiæum, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, as we know, lectured on Sappho. The shorter quotations, which have been salvaged, many of them being of a mere verbal or grammatical character and consisting of single words, are from various writers on grammar and metre, and contribute little of any value for Sappho's poetry or her biography.<sup>3</sup> Extant scholiasts to the ancient Greek writers supply us with nearly fifty quotations from Sappho, given for the purposes of illustration.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Athen. xiii, 599 C, *Τὸ περὶ Σαπφῶς*

<sup>2</sup> Fragm. 3, 4

<sup>3</sup> Mr J. A. Symonds has the hardihood to affirm that the smallest fragments are "perfect."

<sup>4</sup> A good many of these may be drawn from Didymus Chalcenterus

*Sappho and the Latin Poets*

§ 7 Among Latin writers we find most familiarity with Sappho in Catullus Horace and perhaps Ovid Martial also mentions her twice or thrice Catullus had more of the Greek genius than any other Latin poet and in his lyrical art was more akin to Sappho In several places even in the little that has come down to us of Sappho we can detect where Catullus has imitated her and he has left us a translation<sup>1</sup> if it be not rather a paraphrase of the famous *Φαίβερά μοι κῆνος* ode which he addresses to his mistress Lesbia a name obviously reminiscent of Sappho Had we all Sappho's poems before us we should certainly find many more parallels between the two writers He has said nothing against her in his poems and he calls her *docta* i.e. skilled in her art.<sup>2</sup>

Horace bases his main scheme of lyric poetry on Alcaeus and Sappho though Alcaeus is certainly his favourite He has several more or less direct reminiscences of Sappho<sup>3</sup> and of course alludes to her by name more than once Such poems as the Chloe dialogue and the lines to Neobule<sup>4</sup> in the *Ionic a minore* metre may look back to Sapphic originals He evidently had a high admiration for her and sets her with Alcaeus among the Shades in the abodes of the Blest.<sup>5</sup> There is nothing to her discredit to be found in his works The word

<sup>1</sup> A very poor affair in spite of Swinburne's ridiculous eulogy "a more beautiful translation there never was and will never be"!

<sup>2</sup> Catull. 35 16 cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 235b (= Ael. *VH* xii, 19) Max. Tyrius viii 90 Martial *Epigr.* vii, 69 10 x, 35 16, speaks of her as *docta*, but reflects on her chastity Terent. Maur. calls her *doctissima* (*De Metris*); so also Mar. Victor iii 5 4.

*Odes* i, 26 1 iv 9 11 *Epist.* i, 19 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Od.* iii 9 and iii, 12.

<sup>5</sup> The only real persons there

*mascula*<sup>1</sup> applied to her, which some have so pitifully tried to interpret in an evil sense against her, obviously—surely obviously—describes her poetry only, as the whole point of the comparison with Archilochus is in connexion with their respective literary styles Sappho, says Horace, softens the muse of Archilochus, but not so as to make it effeminate<sup>2</sup>

One would have expected Ovid to show admiration for Sappho and familiarity with her works But except in a line or two here and there in the Epistle of Sappho to Phaon,<sup>3</sup> which is possibly, but not certainly, by him, we find in Ovid very little trace of her work<sup>4</sup> He mentions her several times, it is true, as an erotic teacher, and the meaning is curiously ambiguous in one or two of these passages He charges her with *lascivia*, but this need not necessarily have a wholly bad meaning<sup>5</sup> For Apuleius,<sup>6</sup> defending himself against the charge of writing *ludicros et amatorios versus*, retorts that Anacreon and Simonides and Alcman had done the same, and Sappho too, she indeed *lascive* and with such exquisite grace, that by the sweetness of her songs she reconciles us to their unaccustomed dialect Here the word does not seem to require any worse signification than “sportive”

<sup>1</sup> Ausonius, *Idylls*, vi, 24, also calls her *mascula*, but he has one eye on Statius, *Silvae*, v, 3, 154 (*viriles*), and the legendary leap from Leucate

<sup>2</sup> See Wilam, *Sappho u Simonides*, p 17, note, and Porphyry on the passage

<sup>3</sup> *Heroid* xv, for a translation see below

<sup>4</sup> *pace* Lunák

<sup>5</sup> *Ars Amat* iii, 331, *Remed Am* 761, *Trist* ii, 365, cf *Am* ii, 18, 26, and 34 In the last two passages he calls her *Lesbis amica*, and *Lesbis amata*, and apparently refers to the Epistle (or an Epistle) of Sappho to Phaon, *Heroid* xv, 19, 201

<sup>6</sup> *Apol* 9

The Sappho cult still ran high in the second and third centuries A D The last personality of the ancient world with whom we can connect the name of Sappho was the emperor Julian From his references to her works and his twice calling her ἡ καλὴ Σαπφώ the exquisite Sappho we see that she was an especial favourite with him the last of the Græco-Romans

*No Probability of recovering Sappho's Complete Works*

§ 8 That a complete copy of Sappho's poems should ever be recovered is now almost beyond the bounds of possibility The sarcophagus of a lover of Greek learning in Egypt or a poet's library in buried Herculaneum is the only place we can look to for such a joyous resurrection unless we put any faith in the hazy tradition that in the Kubbet-el Khazneh or Dome of the Treasure at Damascus were promiscuously heaped together at the time of the Arab Conquest all the books of Greek learning found in Damascus to remain and rot there unopened ever since.

*Life of Sappho*

§ 9 But let us pass on now to what is known authentically about Sappho's life She was born as is most probable at Eresus<sup>1</sup> on the west coast of the island of Lesbos But she is usually spoken of as a Mitylenæan<sup>2</sup> and there can be little doubt that the main part of her life was lived at Mitylene Possibly

<sup>1</sup> So Dioscorides (Anth. Pal. vii, 407) and Suidas, *sub voce* Her effigy on the coins of Eresus cannot be explained in any other way Tradition also is said to support this theory But Athen. xiii, 596 says that the Sappho of Eresus was a courtesan and not the poet.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Herod. iii, 125 Moschus, iii, 92 Strabo xiii 617 Athen. x, 425 A. Ox. Pap. 1800 Par. Marble 38 Schol. Phaedrus 235 C. ib., *Pladari Vita* Anth. Pal. vii, 17 xvi, 310 (vii, 14 407 ix, 66 189) Pollux ix, 84



on the death of her parent, when she was six, the family migrated thither

§ 10 Her father's name was most probably Skamandronymus (sometimes shortened into Skamandrus or Skamon),<sup>1</sup> and her mother's Kleis.<sup>2</sup> We do not know the year, nor even the approximate year, in which Sappho was born, but it must, we may suppose, have been during the ninth decade of the seventh century B C.<sup>3</sup> She had three brothers, all, probably, junior to her, of whom Charaxus was the eldest, Eurygyus the second, and the youngest, her favourite, Larichus.<sup>4</sup> We know nothing of the last-named, except that Sappho "often sang his praises" in his capacity of cup-bearer at the civic feasts of the Mitylenaeans, at which we may suppose that Sappho also might be present, in their Town Hall. This office, we know from Athenaeus,<sup>5</sup> was reserved for well-born and comely youths. We learn nothing more of Eurygyus, but there was a later Mitylenaeon of similar name, and son of a Larichus, in the time of Alexander.<sup>6</sup> As the conjunction of names seems to show that he was of Sappho's blood, we see a chance of the Sappho tradition being kept up in Mitylene for more than 200 years.

§ 11 Charaxus, the elder brother, is mentioned by several writers. Much to Sappho's disgust he contracted

<sup>1</sup> Suidas gives six or seven alternatives, with further MS variations. Eurygyus is the only possible competitor to Skamandronymus (cf. also Schol., *Pind. Vit.*), which latter we find in Herod. ii, 135, Schol. Plato, *Phaedr.* 235 C, Ael., *VH.* xii, 19, O $\chi$  Pap. 1800.

<sup>2</sup> So Suidas and the Schol. *Pind. Vit.* Fragn. 53 is so like a folk-song that we cannot be sure that *μᾶτερ* means Sappho's mother.

<sup>3</sup> See Athen. xiii, 599. Euseb. places her *floruit* in the 42nd Olympiad (B C. 599-596).

<sup>4</sup> O $\chi$  Pap. 1800.

<sup>5</sup> ix, 424 E., cf. Eustath. Hom., *Iliad.* xx, 234 (Schol. Vict.).

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, iii, 6, 5.

a liaison with a beautiful courtesan of Naucratis in Egypt, named Doricha<sup>1</sup> also perhaps nicknamed Rhodôpis or Rosy-cheeks. He redeemed her from slavery at a great cost married her and had children by her. Charaxus traded between Lesbos and Naucratis in the native Lesbian wine which was famous in antiquity. According to Ovid and Athenaeus Charaxus impoverished himself by his lavish expenditure on Doricha, and Ovid implies that his trade taken up to recoup himself was not a reputable one. Sappho took him severely to task for his infatuation which brought disgrace on his family and was an object of derision to his enemies. The beautiful epigram of Posidippus (about 250 B.C.) deserves to be quoted here\*—

Thy bones O Doricha are dust long long ago  
 Thy robe that breathed of scent the band about thy hair  
 Thou who of yore didst clasp Charaxus young and fair  
 And breast to breast with him didst taste the morning  
                   wine

But the white pages of sweet Sappho's song are thine  
 They live and ever shall live speaking to the ear  
 Thy happy name which Naukratis shall still hold dear  
 While sea borne ships o'er Nile's lagoons pass to and fro

§ 12 Sappho was married says Suidas to a certain Kerkylas or Kerkolas a very rich man who hailed from Andros. Some suppose but on somewhat flimsy grounds this name to be a fictitious and ribald appellation taken from the comic poets who (it is conjectured)

<sup>1</sup> Suidas under *Alceus* says she was a Thracian but Athen. xiii 596 implies that she was of Naucratis (*ἡγεμένη*). Herodotus gives an account of her ii, 135 see also Ovid, *Heroid.*, xv 63, 117. Posidippus in Athenaeus above-quoted. Strabo, xvii 808. Suidas, s.v. *Ποσειδίππος ἐπὶ Σάπφῳ*, and Phot. *Lex.* *ibid.* Fragments 9, 10 and possibly 11.

Athen. xiii, 596 C. Wilamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* p. 19

held Sappho up to shame and ridicule on the comic stage. But beyond such titles of comedies as *Sappho*, *Phaon*, and *Leucadius*, there is nothing to support this idea<sup>1</sup>. We hear of only one child as the result of this marriage, a daughter named Kleïs<sup>2</sup>.

§ 13. Beside the affair of Charaxus, the only incident in Sappho's life of which we have any certain record, is her sojourn in Sicily, mentioned on the Parian Marble, which in its present condition simply says that Sappho sailed from Mitylene to Sicily as an exile<sup>3</sup>. But we do not know whether she was banished and, if so, why, or went into voluntary exile. The subsequent words on the Marble, which might have cleared up this point, are mutilated, but the conjecture of Mr Edmonds, <τὸ δεύτερον>, as if this were her second exile, is neat and has something to be said for it. If correct, however, what of her first exile? Mr Edmonds is ready for the question, and refers us to a marginal note on a papyrus fragment of Alcaeus at Berlin<sup>4</sup>. The Berlin editors profess to read only two *scholia* to this text, but a third, whose existence they admit, but fail to read it, is given though dubiously by Mr Edmonds thus αὐτὸν τὸν ποιήτην <αὶ>[τ(ῇν)] Σαπφῶ <αὶ> τ(ὸν) Ἀντιμενίδαν <ἀδ>ελφὸν <ὄντ>α τ(οῦ) Ἀλκαίου <καί> τινας ἄλλους. The second *scholion* speaks of a prior banishment of Alcaeus and his friends (including Phanias?), for an unsuccessful plot against Myrsilus, to Pyrrha in Lesbos. If we can place any sufficient reliance on the above reading of lines, which are confessedly almost indecipher-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these plays see below, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70, 120, and Suidas. See also Fragm. 54, 61 (? 55).

<sup>3</sup> If the date was about 598 B.C., as Edmonds thinks, Sappho was probably young.

<sup>4</sup> Berl. Klassiker texte, 5, 2, 12.

able we shall have to associate Sappho with Alcaeus and other opponents of the autocratic régime in their enforced seclusion at Pyrrha. This *if true* might throw some much needed light upon a line in Ovid's *Epistle* <sup>1</sup>

Nec me Pyrrhiades Methymniadesve puellæ  
Nec me Lesbium cetera turba iuvant

which unexpectedly brings Sappho into connexion with the Maidens of Pyrrha. It is a curious if not slight coincidence that early coins of Pyrrha bear a female head similar to those which appear on the coins of Mitylene and are commonly associated with Sappho.

§ 14 But Sappho probably junior in age to Alcaeus would have been somewhat young at this period. The only allusion to political affairs in her extant fragments is one which has quite recently come to light on one of the Oxyrhynchus leaves <sup>2</sup> where the Lesbian clan composed of the descendants of Penthilus is mentioned. Pittacus the famous Mussolini of Mitylene was connected with this clan by his marriage with the sister of Dracon the son of Penthilus.

§ 15 It is not known where Sappho resided in Sicily on her retirement thither. Ovid <sup>3</sup> makes her apostrophize the Megarian maids and Megarian mothers as if the Sicilian Megara were to be her destination in case of a flight to Sicily. But Syracuse seems in every way the more likely spot for her residence. It was the most important city on the island and the mention on the Parian Marble of the Gamoni or Junkers as ruling in that city at the time seems only relevant,

<sup>1</sup> *Heroid.* xv 15. Some MSS. give another (corrupt) reading here: Nec mihi Pyrino subeunt Mnæve puella where neither name nor grammar is tolerable (Pyrino = Gyrinno and Mnæis = Mnædika (?))

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm.* 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Heroid.* xv 54.

if it relegated Sappho thither We know, too, that at a later time Syracuse prided itself on possessing a fine statue of Sappho which had a place of honour in the Town Hall <sup>1</sup>

With the exception of this stay in Sicily, probably of no long duration, Sappho's life, as far as we know, was passed in Lesbos and mainly at Mitylene However, she may well have travelled on the mainland of Asia, and more especially visited Sardis and Phocaea <sup>2</sup>

### *Sappho and her Environment*

§ 16 Sappho, even more than her elder contemporary Alcaeus, was the glory of Lesbos, τὸ μελιχρὸν αὖχημα Λεσβίων, as Lucian <sup>3</sup> calls her, coupling her name with those of the martial Telesilla and the philosophic Theano As all great writers in some way are, she must have been the product of her age and environment and the mouthpiece of the tendencies and ideals of her time In appraising her character and achievements, we must therefore take into account, so far as we can discover them, the racial antecedents, the social conditions, and the natural features of her native Lesbos

§ 17 This island, which has been called the "pearl of the Ægean", was colonized at different times by various races, the ancient Pelasgians so-called, the Carians from the mainland, and the Aeolians and Achaeans from Greece proper The word *Aeolian* is itself said to signify a "mixed" race How far Sappho herself

<sup>1</sup> S. Mirone has tried to show with some success in the *Revue Numismatique*, vol. lv, ser. iv, p. 16, that a Syracusan coin bears on its reverse the representation of this statue of Sappho See Plate iv, 5, 6, 7 Cfr. *Verr.* ii, 4, 57

<sup>2</sup> See Fragments 6<sub>2</sub>, 6<sub>3</sub>, 8<sub>19</sub>, 54<sub>3</sub>, 97<sub>4</sub>, 141<sub>3</sub>, 147<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *Amores*, 30, cf. Aristides, *Ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, § 152, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1398 B

was of pure Greek descent is not known. The point will be further discussed in connexion with her personal appearance.

Lesbos was renowned from early times for its beauty, fertility and exquisite climate<sup>1</sup>. The wine of Lesbos<sup>2</sup> and its figs were famous for their excellence and the barley of Eresus<sup>3</sup> figures on its coinage. Homer singles out the Lesbian women as the most beautiful in the world<sup>4</sup> and the concubine of Achilles the rosy-cheeked Briseis<sup>5</sup> was probably from Lesbos as well as her understudy the daughter of the Lesbian Diomedes. The elegance of their dancing is praised in connexion with Sappho by an anonymous writer<sup>6</sup>. Antipater of Thessalonika calls Sappho the glory of Lesbian women of the lovely tresses<sup>7</sup> tied with a purple band<sup>8</sup>. Contests were held in Lesbos not only for beauty (*καλλιστεία*) in the temple of Hera but also for *οικονομία* and *σωφροσύνη*<sup>9</sup>. It was pre-eminently the home of dance<sup>10</sup> and lyric song and legend symbolized its supremacy in music by telling that the head and lyre of Orpheus were carried from the mouth of the Hebrus to Lesbos<sup>11</sup>. Moreover it

<sup>1</sup> Pliny *NH* v 31. Diod. Sic. v 82.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Georg.* ii, 90. Ovid *Ars Am.* i, 57. Strabo, 808. Athen. iii, 92. xi, 42.

Athen. iii 111 F.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, ix, 179. 271.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* i, 322. T. G. Tucker (*Sappho* Melbourne 1914 p. 13) says "Artistically the distinguishing mark of the Lesbians as represented in Homer was their clear open-eyed original observation of essentials, their veracity of description, their dislike of the indefinite and the mystic." The source of this statement I have not traced.

Anth. Pal. ix, 189. see below p. 184.

<sup>7</sup> Anth. Pal. ix 26.

<sup>8</sup> Anth. Pal. vi 211.

Athen. xiii 610 A.

<sup>10</sup> Anth. Pal. vii, 716. ix, 189.

<sup>11</sup> His gory visage down the stream was sent,

Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore —Milton's *Lycidas*.

was the home of Terpander, the founder of Greek music, and Arion the incomparable harpist and dithyrambist. It was in every way fitting that the tenth muse should come from such a home. As Plato so gracefully puts it—

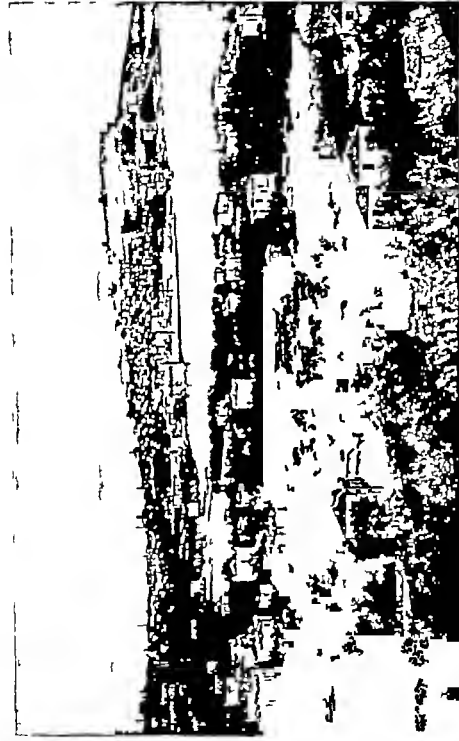
The Muses are but nine, say some,  
how carelessly !  
Can they not see  
Sappho, the tenth, from Lesbos come ?<sup>1</sup>

### *The Aeolian Race*

§ 18 In the seventh century B.C. the Aeolians of Lesbos were a vigorous and gifted race, brave in war, enterprising in trade, vehement in politics, eminent in poetry and music.<sup>2</sup> They had the sense to see, as the Italians in our own day had the sense to see, that a dictator is sometimes the only salvation for a state given over to the selfish quarrels of partisans, and our sympathies go with Pittacus in his stand for justice, tranquillity, and order. He seems to us a far finer character, in the field of politics, than Alcæus, whose politics were not on a par with his poetry, though they lend it interest and vividness. Even if Alcæus were not a lover of Sappho, as some have thought, the two were certainly friends, and the possibility is that Sappho shared his views to some extent, even if she did not suffer banishment for her opinions. Her exile, if such it really was, cannot have been of long duration. Alcæus, as we know, returned from exile, and accepting the situation made his peace with Pittacus.

<sup>1</sup> Anth. Pal. ix, 506

<sup>2</sup> They at one time conquered a part of the Troad, and disputed in her ambitions not unsuccessfully with Athens herself. The Asiatic Aeolians were of much inferior fibre, see Athen. xiv, 624 (quoting from Heracles Ponticus).



MITYLENE. THE SOUTHERN HARBOUR

(By kind permission of M. J. M. 1889)





*Position of Women in Lesbos*

§ 19 In one all important point the Aeolians of Lesbos afforded a great contrast to the Ionians and Dorians namely in the position held by women in their country. These seem not to have been secluded as at Athens and among the Ionians generally where as we know the less women were seen in public and the less they were talked about the better were they thought of.<sup>1</sup> Only the refined and intellectual courtesan an Aspasia or a Phryne could in Athens live any sort of free life. Nor were the Lesbian women brought up as were the Dorian under discipline and strict rules of conduct for the primary purpose of becoming robust breeders for the men and bearing to them vigorous children worthy to be Spartan citizens. On the one hand no harem system appears nor on the other a kultur of eugenics based on the training of gymnasium or palestra. The women of Lesbos lived it seems, a natural life as they did in ancient Egypt and were the equals of men in social opportunity if not in mental capacity. But the modern tendency for women to become as far as possible duplicates of men had no place among the Aeolians or any other Greeks. To push anything to extreme lengths was abhorrent to the Greek genius. It seemed to them as it is bad taste. The Aeolian women were content to compete with men in all arts that were common to both sexes. They had no wish to unsex themselves. The duties of wife and mother were still the accepted rôle.<sup>2</sup>

*Sappho's Vocation*

§ 20 Sappho as we have seen married and had a daughter. Probably her husband died when Kleis

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. II, 45

In later times Lesbian women acquired a very evil reputation. See Athen. x, 443 A. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 5

was quite small,<sup>1</sup> and Sappho took up a profession, of which we hear nearly for the first time, though no doubt it existed in the world long before. She conducted a sort of academy for the instruction of girls in poetry, music, singing, and dancing,<sup>2</sup> in fact in the culture of all physical and mental graces. Part of her work no doubt was the organizing and conducting of processional dances and songs for the festivals of the gods. Such a scene is depicted in an anonymous epigram<sup>3</sup>

To mild-eyed Hera's glorious temple go,  
Ye Lesbian maids, and delicately there  
Weave the fair dance for her, and Sappho so  
With golden lyre in hand shall set the air,  
That in the joy of that glad dance ye say,  
Surely Kallhopé herself doth play<sup>4</sup>

This establishment is called *Μοισοπόλων οἰκία*,<sup>5</sup> the House of the Lovers of the Muses. It became no doubt the centre of a literary coterie, or salon, as well as a house of instruction. If the words of the fragment quoted can be pressed, it might seem that Sappho died in the building where she presided. Incidentally, we learn a few facts about this literary circle. Sappho's connexion with the friends and pupils whom she gathered round her is compared by Maximus Tyrius<sup>6</sup> to the *τέχνη ἐρωτική* of Socrates, as described by Plato. Here it may be remarked that, since Maximus, a philosopher of high character and noble sentiments,

<sup>1</sup> See Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70

<sup>2</sup> Nossis (Anth Pal vii, 718) calls Mitylene *καλλίχορος*, the city of the fair dances

<sup>3</sup> Anth Pal ix, 189

<sup>4</sup> Miss Patrick, in her *Sappho*, p. 106, holds that she and her pupils formed a *thiasos* or religious society for the worship of Aphrodite

<sup>5</sup> Fragm 61. Or read *Μοισοπόλω* "that serves the muses"

<sup>6</sup> *xxiv*, 24

certainly regards the love of Socrates for his friends and pupils Alcibiades and Charmides and Phædrus as perfectly innocent in fact as Platonic he must be crediting Sappho with feeling the same pure affection<sup>1</sup> for her friends and disciples Gyrinno<sup>2</sup> and Atthis<sup>3</sup> and Anactoria.<sup>4</sup> He adds that both Socrates and Sappho claimed to love (ἐρᾶν) many friends and to be attracted by all beautiful things<sup>5</sup>

§ 21 Besides the three named above we hear from Suidas of Telesippa and Megara Gongyla of Colophon<sup>6</sup> and Euneica of Salamis Mnasiuka, or Dika is named twice by Sappho<sup>7</sup> and Hero (of Gyara?) once<sup>8</sup> Ovid adds Cydro (or Cydno)<sup>9</sup> and in a corrupt reading Mnais<sup>10</sup> Damophyla appears in Philostratus's life of Apollonius Timas in a probably spurious epigram<sup>11</sup> and Erinna of Teos or Telos or Tenos has been cited by Suidas but probably in error<sup>12</sup> as a pupil of Sappho The elder poetess of the name may have been a contemporary of Sappho In a poem she calls herself (if the epigram

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Plut. *Lycorgus*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Fragm. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Suidas Fragm. 6, 18, 19

<sup>4</sup> Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Fragm. 8<sub>10</sub> Suidas (? — Anagora of Miletus) Anactoria is said to be a name for Miletus—Anagora then might be the name and Anactoria = the Milesian Ovid, *Her* xv 17 (v.l. Amynthone)

<sup>5</sup> Themistius (*Or* 13) however blames Sappho and Anacreon for unmeasured or rather immeasurable eulogies of their darlings. It is not altogether to her credit that Sappho is so often coupled with Anacreon. E.g. Dion Chrys., *Or* II, 24 Apul. *Apol* 9 Plut. *Symp* vii, 8 2 Aul. Gell. xix, 3 Athen. xiv 639 A.

<sup>6</sup> Fragm. 5 21

<sup>7</sup> Fragm. 18 12.

<sup>8</sup> Fragm. 20

Ovid, *Heroid.* xv 17

<sup>9</sup> Ovid *Heroid.* xv 15 and Choeroboscus (Corn. Cop. Aldi, 286b) Wilam. introduces Mnais into Fragm. 97

<sup>10</sup> Given below p. 176.

<sup>11</sup> In Fragm. 22 we find Eirena or Eranna alluded to.

is genuine) συνεταίρῃς of Baucis, the Mitylenaeon. She died at 17, and her fame rested upon an epic poem on "The Spindle." An epigram compares her to Sappho—

Sappho excelled Erinna in her lyric verse,  
As far as she did Sappho in hexameters

The two names, Nikopolis<sup>1</sup> and Kállis, which appear in the painting on the Athenian hydria depicted in the illustration (p. 76), are probably only conventional Athenian names of the fifth century B.C. Sappho had two rivals in her vocation, with whom Maximus compares the sophists Prodicus, Gorgias, and the others as rivals of Socrates. Sappho's competitors were Gorgo and Andromeda,<sup>2</sup> for the latter of whom Atthis, one of her favourites, deserted her. But, no doubt, Sappho was held in far greater estimation than they were, and we can see how great her fame as a personality and an instructress must have been, when we consider from what distant parts of the Greek world pupils came to be with her.

### *Unfounded Charges against Sappho's Character*

§ 22 It is necessary at this point to say a few words—and they shall be as few as possible—on the subject of the charges so often made and so widely believed against Sappho's moral character. These, brutally put, are —

(1) That her liking for her girl friends was an impure affection, such as in later days was from its supposed prevalence in Lesbos branded as Lesbianism.<sup>3</sup> Suidas,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 76. The second and third letters read more like E and U on the vase.

<sup>2</sup> Fragm. 14, 17, 39, 110.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 73, note.

speaking of Atthis Megara and Telesippa merely says *πρὸς αὐ καὶ διαβολῇ ἔσχετ' αἰσχρὰς φίλας*. He evidently does not endorse it. A fragment of a biography of Sappho (based perhaps on Chamaeleon's treatise)<sup>1</sup> recently found in Egypt<sup>2</sup> εἰς κατηγόρηται ὑπ' ἐρίων ὡς αἰσχυρὰ οἶσα τὸν τροπον καὶ γυναικερόστρια. Ovid is the earliest witness against Sappho saying in his *Epistle to Phaon*—

Atque alix centum quas non sine crimine unavi<sup>3</sup>  
and

Lesbides Infamem quae me fecistis amore  
and

Nota sit et Sappho quid enim lascivius illa?<sup>4</sup>  
and

Lesbia quid docuit Sappho nisi amare puellas?<sup>5</sup>  
There is further a *scholion* of Porphyry on Horace *Ep* 1 9 28 *vel quia tribas diffamatur esse*. Voilà tout! This is all that the much rake can scrape together from the dirt heaps of the past on this particular charge.

(2) That Sappho was a courtesan in plain Biblical language a harlot. Tatian as we have seen above roundly calls her so *εἰσπα* is his term. The ambiguity of this word which is used in its old and innocent sense of friend or comrade by Sappho<sup>6</sup> may have misled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.* 53 quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> Ox. Pap. 1800 dating from the end of second or beginning of third century. We may recall the fact that even Socrates was accused of vice with his pupils—see Lucian *De Domo* 4—Juvenal ii. 10 cf. Athenæus v. chap. 12 and Ol.

<sup>3</sup> But the best MS. has *hic* for *non* and *crimine* means rather *charge* than wrong-doing.

<sup>4</sup> *Ars Amat* iii. 331. *Lascivius* need not have a wholly bad meaning; cf. Apul., *Apol* 9 also of Sappho. See § 7 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Trist* ii. 385. The Latin is ambiguous. It may mean "teach girls to love" cf. *Rem Am* 781.

<sup>6</sup> *Fragm.* 34 89 111 1-8. Athen. xiii. 57 discusses this question in connexion with two of these passages.

readers From Seneca's scornful allusion to a tract by Didymus Chalcenterus on the question *An Sappho publica fuerit*? we gather that it was a trivial and useless subject of discussion<sup>1</sup>

(3) That she conceived a frantic love for a beautiful youth named Phaon, lived for a time as his mistress, and when deserted by him threw herself from the Leucadian Cliff, whether being drowned there or thus curing herself of her infatuation is not clearly stated

Now in the first place, these charges are mutually destructive If Sappho was addicted to Lesbianism, a vice which was not associated with Lesbos till much later, she could not well have qualified for a successful courtesan—a *κάλον δαμόσιον*, as she calls such a one The instincts of a courtesan lie in quite a different direction Again, the supposed passion for Phaon precludes by its intensity and youthful character, let alone what we may suppose to have been its fatal termination, indulgence in the infamies with which she is charged A complete explanation for the courtesan story is found in the fact recorded by several writers, but denied by most moderns, that there was another Sappho in Lesbos, a courtesan, who was also a *ψάλτρια* and possibly, too, a lyrist<sup>2</sup> No doubt she was subsequent to the real Sappho This seems a perfectly simple origin for the tale, and certainly does not merit the incredulity with which it has been treated It is more than likely that the name Sappho was in earlier as it was certainly in later times appropriated by the votaries of Aphrodite Pandemos

<sup>1</sup> Seneca, *Epist* 88

<sup>2</sup> *Sappho* (2) and *Φάων* in Suidas Athen viii, 596, says on the authority of Nymphis (or Nymphiodorus), fourth century B C, that this other Sappho, a courtesan, was of Eresus Cf Hesych Miles, 36, and Photius s v *Λευκάτης* In Anth Pal v, 246, we have a courtesan named Sappho mentioned

*The Phaon Story*

§ 23 The Sappho-Phaon legend—it is nothing better than a fable—has permeated literature to a far greater extent owing to its picturesqueness and to Ovid's if it be Ovid's characteristic treatment of it in the familiar Epistle to Phaon. A translation of this has for convenience been placed at the end of the present volume.<sup>1</sup> Phaon can in no sense be considered a historical character. The fables about him are so various and so absurd. Those which relate to the aged ferryman beloved by Aphrodite and those which tell of the youthful Phaon with whom Sappho was infatuated have little connexion with one another. Phaon the Shining One is redolent of myth and has been identified by some with Phaethon or Adonis.<sup>2</sup> Sappho mentions Phaethon in a newly discovered Fragment<sup>3</sup> but we have no evidence corroborating the statement of Palaephatus that Sappho often made songs about her love for Phaon. Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> considers this a later Byzantine addition but it is more likely that ἀντήρ in this passage means Aphrodite and not Sappho<sup>5</sup> so that what Palaephatus states is that Sappho wrote lyrics about the love of Aphrodite for Phaon. Nothing could be more likely than this as the Phaon legend was connected with Lesbos and Aphrodite was the presiding goddess of Sappho's poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Pope's translation was useless for this purpose, as it leaves out many lines and is more in the nature of a paraphrase.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Phaon being hid by Aphrodite among lettuces is told also of Adonis. See Aelian, *VH* xii, 17. Athen. iii, 69.

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<sup>4</sup> *Sappho und Simonides* p. 33 ff. where the whole Phaon legend is dealt with at length.

<sup>5</sup> See J. M. F. Bascoul *La Chaste Sappho*



*The Leucadian Leap*

§ 24 With the relegation of Sappho's Phaon<sup>1</sup> to the realm of fable falls the whole story, as far as it concerns her, of the Leucadian leap. There are so many inconsistencies and improbabilities about the entire tale, that no reliance whatever can be placed upon it. Menander<sup>2</sup> is the first author who attributes the leap to Sappho, but he only reports it as hearsay (λέγεται is his word), and he discredits his own statement by asserting that Sappho was the first to try the leap. For Stesichorus, Sappho's contemporary, makes Calyce<sup>3</sup> leap earlier, and says nothing of Sappho. Nor does Anacreon,<sup>4</sup> who used the expression as a proverbial one. Charon of Lampsacus<sup>5</sup> gave the priority to Phobus of Phocaea, and Strabo says that the ancients gave it to Cephalus. Ovid begins the series of love-sick jumpers with Deucalion, than which absurdity can no further go. Statius,<sup>6</sup> Alciphron,<sup>7</sup> Ausonius,<sup>8</sup> Photius (but he gives Sappho the hetæra as an alternative), all attribute the leap to Sappho (not necessarily as the first to take it). But Photius<sup>9</sup> elsewhere, giving a list from Ptolemy, the son of Hephaestion, of all those who leapt, does not mention Sappho, and Servius,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was apparently a legend current in Lesbos of the love of Philomela for Phaon. See Schöne, *Untersuch. ü. d. Leben d. Sappho*. Cf. Lunák, *Sapphicae Quaest.*, p. 80 n.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, v, 452. It is not always noticed that the words οὗ δὲ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ, being in anapaestic metre, should be added to the quotation from Menander.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. xiv, 619 D.

<sup>4</sup> Bergk, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Plut., *De Virt. Mul.* 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Silv.* v, 3, 154.

<sup>7</sup> vi, 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Idyll.* vi, 24, cf. *Epigr.* 92, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Photius s.v. Λευκάτης, and § 190.

<sup>10</sup> Ad Verg., *Aen.* iii, 279.

after an account of Phaon and Aphrodite and the desire of women for Phaon's love adds *one* of these was said to have jumped from the cliff. He says nothing about Sappho. Turpilus who wrote plays modelled on Menander in one called *Leucadia* calls Phaon's lover Dorcium. All these are damning facts against Sappho's connexion with Phaon and not less so that no knowledge of it is shown by Herodotus or Aristotle or the early writers in general or by Plutarch or Galen.

### *Sappho and the Later Comedy*

§ 25 Most critics have attributed the ill fame that gathered round the name of Sappho to the poets of the Middle and New Comedy but it must be confessed that there is little positive evidence for this. In the Old Comedy we find Cratinus mentioning Phaon in connexion with Aphrodite<sup>1</sup> while Plato the comic writer wrote a *Phaon* at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.—we may suppose on the same subject of the legendary Phaon—but he introduces into the play a Leucadian named Philoxenus.<sup>2</sup> As far as we know it was Ameipsias who in the transition stage between the Old and the Middle Comedy first wrote a *Sappho*.<sup>3</sup> Of the Middle Comedy writers Antiphanes wrote a *Sappho*<sup>4</sup> and a *Phaon* and a *Leucadius*.<sup>5</sup> In the first of these he introduces Sappho as composing and solving riddles in verse. Lunak denies that the Phaon of Antiphanes was our Phaon as a Pythagorean is brought

<sup>1</sup> Athen. ii, 70

<sup>2</sup> Athen. i, 5. He may or may not be the poet.

Only one word of this survives, viz. *καὶ φέρει*.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, x, 40, says he used *καὶ* etc., in his *Phaon*—*καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ*. This may mean of course, as in Sappho, but better possibly as in his *Sappho*.

<sup>5</sup> Or Leucas.

into the play There appears to be a Phaon, who was a Pythagorean, in the *Tarentines* of Alexis A little later Ephippus wrote a *Sappho*, but we know nothing of it<sup>1</sup> Timocles and Amphus, also poets of the Middle Comedy of Alexander's time, wrote each a *Sappho* play, and the latter a *Leucas*<sup>2</sup> also Diphilus, of the New Comedy, treated the same theme, and regardless of chronology represented Archilochus and Hippōanax as lovers of Sappho<sup>3</sup> Menander, of the New Comedy, refers, as we have seen, to Sappho and the leap from the Leucadian cliff in his *Leucadia* So much for the meagre light thrown on this subject by the little that we have of the later writers of Comedy at Athens

#### *Improbability of the Charges against Sappho*<sup>4</sup>

§ 26 The great unlikelihood of Sappho having been a shameless and abandoned woman will be apparent from the following facts She belonged to a respectable family of good descent in Lesbos, as we know from the office which her brother Larichus held at Mitylene She married, probably in early life, a wealthy man and had a daughter, who lived with her and was cherished as the apple of her eye<sup>5</sup> She died, as it seems, in her own House of the Muses,<sup>6</sup> and was buried in Mitylene<sup>7</sup> Girls from various parts of the Greek world came to her for instruction, with the consent, we may suppose, of their friends and relations She was commissioned to write wedding songs for friends and strangers, to

<sup>1</sup> Athen xiii, 572

<sup>2</sup> Athen vii, 277, 339 C

<sup>3</sup> Athen xi, 487, 599

<sup>4</sup> See Wilam, *Sappho u Simonides*, p 73

<sup>5</sup> Fragm 54

<sup>6</sup> Fragm 61

<sup>7</sup> Anth Pal vii, 17

organize and conduct religious processions in honour of Hera, and she wrote hymns to Artemis the chaste Goddess of Marriage.<sup>1</sup> Is it conceivable that a woman of infamous character could have done all this? Her countrymen honoured her says Aristotle though she was a woman. Would he not have added καὶ ἀσελγῆς had she been so? Aristides and Lucian look upon her as an honour to her native country. Her head was put upon the coins of Eresus and Mitylene. Alcaeus her contemporary calls her pure (αἷνα). She is spoken of with praise or without a word of blame by such men as Solon, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by the Author of the treatise on the Sublime, Demetrius, Plutarch, Dion of Prusa,\* Lucian, Galen and Julian. Athenaeus had her poems by heart and though he mentions her very frequently rather defends her than speaks evil of her. Only the impure minds of Ovid and Martial tried to drag her down to their own level.

### *Evidence of Her Own Works*

§ 27 Take again the evidence of her own works. There is not a gross or objectionable word to be found in the whole of her extant fragments. The utmost that can be brought against her is that in her Ode to Aphrodite she speaks of her frantic affection (φιλότης not ἔρως) for another girl and this too in more playful than passionate terms and that in the other great Ode she describes in words of the intensest and almost

<sup>1</sup> Fragm. 117.

\* He does, however say that her love poems were not suitable for kings to sing (H, 24). Plut. (*Symp.* vii 8 2) after censuring the practice of discussing Plato over the wine, says that even when Sappho is recited (ἀναδεδχομένης? sung cf. Athen. xiii, 598) or the Odes of Anacreon, he is constrained to set down his cup αἰδομένος.

sublime passion the feelings of a lover, not necessarily herself, though she assumes the rôle, at seeing a rival, a man (of no definite individuality, as *ὅστις* shows) sitting beside a girl in a position of privileged intimacy. Opinions must differ, but it is clearly legitimate to regard the poem as objective. Some even suppose it to be part of a wedding song<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately we do not seem to have the poem complete, and Catullus, in his translation, provokingly breaks off at the crucial point to speak of his own affairs. There is nothing whatever coarse or prurient in the stanzas we have<sup>2</sup>. Plutarch, it is true, is more willing to allow a subjective feeling in the poem. He says<sup>3</sup> "The words that Sappho utters here are veritably charged with fire, and in her lyric songs she breathes forth *the heat that is in her heart* using the sweet-voiced muses, as Philoxenus says, to heal the anguish of her love."

### *The Subject-matter of her Poems*

§ 28 A general survey of the scanty remnants we have of Sappho's own works cannot fail to throw many interesting sidelights on her character, and it will be in no way amiss to summarize here the results in this connexion. She apparently reproaches her brother Charaxus for having brought disgrace on their family—how could the Sappho of common repute have had the face to blame her brother?—but longs for his safe return and restoration to honour among his fellow-citizens (Fragm. 9), and alludes scornfully to Doricha (10), she has nothing but praises for her other brother Larichus<sup>4</sup>. She is an ardent and loyal friend (33),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho u. Simonides*, p. 58 f.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing, for instance, to compare with Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Amat.* 18.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. x, 424 E.

and mentions several of her companions with the sincerest and warmest affection, she listens for the sweet footfall of Anactoria when they are parted (8) recalls the joy of their bygone intercourse and the longing for absent friends (6) recording the tender grace of one the beauty of another (14) the lovely hair of a third (12) the cleverness of a fourth (23) the swiftness of foot of yet another (20) The description of Atthis whom she had loved from childhood stings her (18-19) and the forgetfulness of others rankles (35) She laughs to scorn the vulgar pretensions of a rich uncultured woman (24) In spite of his flattering compliments 'pure sweetly smiling violet weaving' Alcaeus gets a rebuff for some unworthy suggestion (27) and a proposed marriage between a young man and an older woman is discountenanced (28).<sup>1</sup> It is not at all clear that she is alluding to herself here. We have several references to Gorgo and Andromeda her rivals the latter of whom had stolen away Atthis from her (13-17)

§ 29 A characteristic utterance of Sappho's is her avowal of delight in ἀβροσύνη the life of ease refinement and delicacy and its intimate connexion with nobility and goodness (41).<sup>2</sup> She claims that her nature is gentle and child like (44) but admits that it is susceptible to sudden assaults of love (46 47 49 52) Longing for the absent (45) pain and cares (42) a wavering mind (43) a horror of old age (41, 31 156 A) and a dread of death (64) the joys of sweet sleep (87) are her lot as they are the lot of others

§ 30 Sappho's philosophy of life shows itself in various fragments a dirge befits not the muse-lover's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shak. *Twelfth Night* II. 4. 30

<sup>2</sup> What a surprising confession of truth for a harlot or a τρυφᾶς to make!

house (61), there can be no real beauty apart from goodness (63), we need good counsel in respect to the gods (62), wealth unbalanced by worth is a perilous house-mate (66), there is nothing more dignified in anger than silence (65) Proverbs of course appear gold imperishable by rust (67), stir not the shingle (69), there are who will not have the honey, if it mean with it the bee (69)

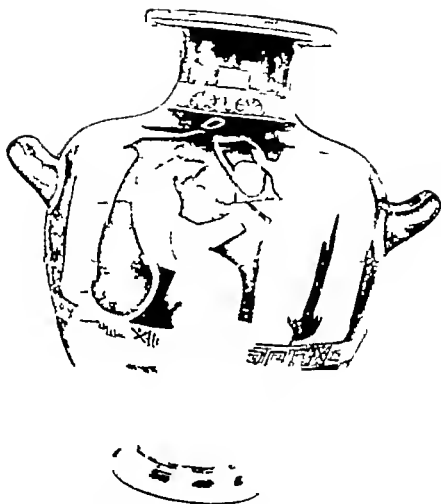
§ 31 J A Symonds has descanted in somewhat lyrical terms on the "Lesbian love of physical beauty, and sensibility to radiant scenes of Nature", and certainly there are in our Sappho many touches showing how sensitive her mind was to beauty in all its forms,<sup>1</sup> as seen in Nature and as portrayed in her description of it<sup>2</sup> The moon, as the minister of Aphrodite, and as "sweet regent of the sky", was a special favourite with Sappho, "rosy-fingered" she calls her (6<sub>9</sub>), and we have the full moon putting out the fainter light of the stars (6<sub>10</sub>, 75), and lighting the dance round an altar (76), shining over the sea (6<sub>11</sub>), moon-set and the sinking of the Pleiads at the lonely vigil so exquisitely described (71), rosy-armed (41), golden-sandalled Dawn (51), a cool orchard, drowsy with the sound of water through the apple-boughs (72),<sup>3</sup> the last rosy apple of autumn on the topmost bough (133), tall flowers on a river's bank (74), the honey-scented clover (6<sub>14</sub>), a maid picking posies in a meadow (77), dew and dewy meadows (6<sub>13</sub>, 7<sub>21</sub>), the weaving of garlands by girls in their bloom (7<sub>13</sub>, 12<sub>1</sub>, 78), the tender sapling of a tree (125),<sup>4</sup> and the many-eared Night (6<sub>20</sub>), the many-garlanded earth

<sup>1</sup> Cf Max. Tyr 24

<sup>2</sup> Cf Demetr, *On Style*, 166

<sup>3</sup> "Il mormorio dell'acque gelida traverso i rami dei meli," Castiglioni

<sup>4</sup> Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 163, and Arnold, *Sohrab*, 332



THE HYDRIA AT ATHENS





(73) Then we have the image of doves drooping their wings in the chill of death (79) the cicala charming the summer heat with his song (80) the dazzling sheen of the hyacinth (134) and its fragrant bloom trod in the dust by clumsy shepherds (134)<sup>1</sup> the lovely heaven haunting swallow (53) the nightingale the angel of the spring (84) We have also fragments of what seems to have been the description of a storm at sea (85)

§ 32 Sappho's extant verses contain references to Aphrodite and Adonis Eros and Peitho to Hera Hermes and Apollo to Leto Leda and Selene to Kalliope the Muses and Graces to Prometheus and Theseus and Andromeda and Jason and Tithonus.

§ 33 A main part of her work is taken up with epithalamia the wedding songs for which she was famous To these probably belong the exquisite invocation to Hesperus so inadequately rendered by Byron (130) the audacious dialogue between a bride and her virginity (135) the contrast between the sweet blushing apple out of reach and the purple hyacinth trodden under foot by the passer by (133 134) the jests at the bridegroom and the doorkeeper of the bridal chamber (136 138) and the lately recovered spirited fragment describing the home-coming of Hector and Andromache

Demetrius<sup>2</sup> says that the whole tissue of Sappho's poesy consisted of such things as the Gardens of the Nymphs wedding-songs and love episodes and that she used words that were sweet and beautiful when she sang of love and the spring and the halcyon and that the texture of her poetry was woven with every melodious word and where no word was forthcoming she coined one Being a true woman as Athenaeus and Galen

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 623

*On Style* H 162, 166

also have occasion to remark of her, she has allusions to dress and ornaments, garlands and kerchiefs and rings, unguents and ointments, of myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, and favourite words with her are such as express grace, tenderness, and delicacy<sup>1</sup> Gold and the rose appear in many a compound Meleager aptly compares her poems to roses, βαῖα μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα<sup>2</sup>

§ 34 One last point must be mentioned, as evidenced by Sappho's fragments, namely, her confident expectation of the immortality of her work The Muses had given her of their choicest gifts, and her lot was one with theirs (56, 57) Though she does not claim to touch the stars in her pride, yet she affirms that after-ages will remember her (25, 58, 59) Like Horace, and Ovid, and Shakespeare, she is fain to cry, *Non omnis moriar*<sup>3</sup>

### *Verdict in Sappho's Favour*

§ 35 So much for the first-hand evidence of Sappho's own words There is nothing here to cause uneasiness to lovers of Sappho, nothing that has a nasty flavour, no lilies that fester like weeds All is stimulating and exhilarating, yet innocent, as her native Lesbian wine, as little malice,<sup>4</sup> as may be looked for in a woman,

<sup>1</sup> ἄβρος, ἄπαλος, βράδιος, μάλακος, κ τ λ

<sup>2</sup> Few, that is, in his *Garland*, but those particular epigrams (three) are certainly no roses nor (perhaps) by Sappho The Proem to Meleager's *Garland* (Anth Pal iv, 1) begins —

Many a lily here of Anvte,

And many an amaryllis tall

Is twined of Moero, but, Sappho, of thee

Few flowers, yet they are roses all

<sup>3</sup> Cf Pinytus of Byzantium's Epigram (Anth Pal vii, 16, Edm, p 167)

Sappho's dumb dust and name her tomb contains,

But all immortal are her magic strains

<sup>4</sup> Remach, *Acad des Inscript*, Compt Rendus, 1911, p 729 Elle était une petite femme brune vive, de belle humeur, et de franc parler, tressaillant à toutes les émotions de la nature et du cœur, malicieuse avec grâce, amante avec fougue, de plus poétesse inspirée, musicienne accomplie et novatrice

much vivacity and some humour the whole outlook normal and human sublimated though it be by the fires of imagination and passion but sane always sane not at all as Swinburne has so superficially and erroneously described her—

Love's priestess mad with pain and joy of song

Song's priestess mad with joy and pain of love

which may be characterized as mere poetical flamboyance.

So we may here put away once for all with a clear conscience as Welcker<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> Tennyson and all other capable judges have done the hateful suspicions that have clung to and disfigured the glorious image of pure sweetly-smiling violet-crowned Sappho and take her to our hearts who have already taken her to our minds as an embodiment not only of all that is artistically great in mental achievement but also of all that is womanly and lovable in human character. We can say of her as Nossis said of Callo—<sup>3</sup>

Λαίρετ' ὅν τινα γὰρ μέμνηται ἔχει βίотας

and echo a now fairer tribute from Swinburne

I Sappho shall be one with all high things for ever

### *Sappho's Art*

§ 36 Now that we have dealt succinctly but faithfully with Sappho's life and character something must necessarily be said of her art about which there has from the first been no dissentient voice. Let us listen to one or two ancient testimonies in corroboration of this. The author of the treatise *On the Sublime* in preserving for us to our eternal benefit the great Odo

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Welcker *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit* 1816

<sup>2</sup> *Sappho und Simonides* 1913 pp 15-78

<sup>3</sup> Anth. Pal. ix, 605

Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος,<sup>1</sup> adds to our obligation by sub-joining this illuminating criticism <sup>2</sup>

“ Since in all things there are latent by nature certain elements which co-exist with their substance, it is a necessary result that we should find a source of sublimity in the selection in every case of the most significant constituents of a thing and in the power, by combining them one with another, of making them as it were into one living whole The reader or hearer is attracted in the one case by the choice of points taken, and in the other by their aggregation

“ For instance, Sappho everywhere takes the emotions incident to the frenzy of love from the signs that attend it, and from the actual reality But wherein does she show her genius? In her wonderful power of both choosing and uniting the intensest and most striking features of passion ”

After transcribing the poem, the writer goes on —  
 “ Do you not marvel how for one and the same purpose the writer enlists, as though they were outside of her and disconnected, soul, body, hearing, tongue, eyes, colour? and how by contraries she is at the same time cold as ice and hot as fire, in her right mind and out of her senses, terrified and at the point of death? So that it might seem that not one passion only moves her but a concourse of passions All such things are common with lovers, but it is the choice of the salient features and their combination into one that has effected such perfection ”

This is an admirable piece of analysis, showing us with brief distinctness, wherein consists the sublimity of Sappho in her realistic and artistic delineation of passion

<sup>1</sup> Fragg 14

<sup>2</sup> Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 10

§ 37 Beside this let us set the critical remarks of the Halicarnassian grammarian Dionysius on the companion Ode to Aphrodite<sup>1</sup> concerned as they are more with the verbal style. Speaking of the smooth and florescent style (γλαφυρά καὶ ανθηρά σύνθεσις)<sup>2</sup> he describes its characteristics and names as its chief exponents Hesiod among epic writers and among lyrists Sappho followed by Anacreon and Simonides but of tragedians only Euripides and of orators Isocrates. He then goes on

Of lyrical poets Sappho seems to me to have achieved this style in the greatest perfection and I will begin with this example from her

After transcribing the whole ode, he proceeds

The beauty and charm of this passage lie in the woven tissue of the words and the smoothness of their adjustment. For the words are set side by side and are woven into one piece as by a sort of relationship and natural affinity of the letters. Throughout almost the entire Ode the vowels which ordinarily precede or follow them are fitted to the mutes or semi vowels. There are very few instances of the clash of semi vowels with semi vowels or of vowels with one another such as jar on the ear. Looking through the whole ode among so many nouns and verbs and other parts of speech I have found but five or six of the conjunction of such semi vowels as are naturally unfitted to coalesce. Nor do I find that these interfere to any great extent with the beauty of the diction. juxtaposition of vowels occurring actually in the lines I find to be the same in number or even fewer but those which occur between

<sup>1</sup> Fragm. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Comp 23 This phrase is a difficult one to render γλαφυρά means "easy" "smooth" as opposed to "abrupt" "harsh" "obscure" ανθηρά does not mean "flowery" or "florid" but rather "adorned" or "rich" or "picturesque"

the lines are somewhat more numerous. Naturally, then, the piece moves smoothly and gently, since the structure of the words does not disturb the waves of the sound."

These ancient criticisms are useful to us in many ways, as the considered judgment of men who were experienced critics familiar with the Greek language and with Sappho's poems

§ 38 Dionysius makes very similar comments in another passage,<sup>1</sup> saying

"The easy (*γλαφυρά*) and picturesque (*θεατρική*)<sup>2</sup> style, which chooses elegance before sublimity, comes next. It always picks out the smoothest and softest words, aiming at euphony and melody and the sweetness that is their outcome. Then it does not go about to set these down just as they come, or to unite them at haphazard, the one with the other, but first determines which placed by which will be able to render the result most musical, and considers according to what arrangement they must be taken to make the collocation of the words more pleasing, and so tries to form a more connected whole, taking especial care that the words shall unite and coalesce together, and the combined rhythm of all be perfectly smooth."

Here again, as examples of this style, he instances Hesiod, and also Anacreon

§ 39 Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> who more than once mentions Sappho's songs and their effect upon listeners, e.g. "Do you not see what a charm there is in Sappho's songs, and how they delight and tickle the ears of the hearers?" evidently was a great admirer of hers. As he

<sup>1</sup> *Demosth* 40

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "scenic", it corresponds to *ἀνθηρά* above. So "ornate" or "decorative"

<sup>3</sup> *Pyth. Or.* 6

was one of the most moral men of his age this fact tells greatly in favour of Sappho

Demetrius<sup>1</sup> while treating of the graces (χάριες) of Sappho's style speaks of the ἐπιφώνημα or phrase of embellishment (Fragm 134) the hyperbole (Fragm 139) repetition or reduplication of a word or phrase (Fragm 35 129) metaphor (Fragm 80) comparison or simile and amended simile (Fragm 91 92) He also mentions her humour but considers it as expressed here unsuitable for lyric poetry (Fragm 138) Assonance and alliteration are frequent in the fragments and there is even a trace of rhyme<sup>2</sup> Hermogenes on *Sweetness of style*<sup>3</sup> quoting the picture of *dolce far niente* in an apple orchard (Fragm 72) says that all pleasures that are not disgraceful can be described simply as for instance the beauty of a spot the variety of flora the distinctive characteristics of a river Such things give pleasure to the eye when seen and to the ear when described

§ 40 Lucian in painting an ideal portrait of wisdom and wit<sup>4</sup> suggests combining the experience the ability and the intellect of Aspasia the greatness of mind of Theano (the Pythagorean) who was famed for virtue and wisdom the intelligence and good judgment of Diotima and of Sappho τὸ γλαφυρόν τῆς προαιρέσεως a very difficult phrase to interpret It seems to refer to the principles or ideals of her art the smooth and easy grace of the execution of her poetic design and defies a concise translation Mr Edmonds's refinement of character can hardly be justified Lucian is

<sup>1</sup> *Comp* II 106-67

e.g. 4, ( at end of every word) 3<sub>aa</sub> (δ) 7<sub>ao</sub> (β) 52 (σ) 69 (μ) 77 ( ) and for rhyme ? 129<sub>p</sub>.

Rhet. Graec. ed Walz, III, 315

<sup>4</sup> *Imagg* 18.



here, as in the other instances, thinking of mental qualities. The same author in his *Amores*<sup>1</sup> couples Sappho with Theano and Aspasia again, adding to the trio Telesilla, the amazon poetess of Argos.

§ 41 These few extracts, to which may be added the various citations from ancient authors introducing some of the fragments below, will show how Sappho's work impressed the world. We may ask how does it appeal to us? The poet Gray, writing in 1767, says "Extreme conciseness of expression, yet pure, perspicuous, and musical, is one of the grand beauties of lyric poetry. This (he adds) I could never attain." These are precisely the beauties which Sappho attained in an exceptional degree. In fact, we could not use better epithets to describe her style. To speak of her "verbal economy" has almost become a commonplace. She had in an eminent degree the Greek gift of restraint and literary tact and taste, yet she combined this avoidance of excess with an intensity of thought and a vividness of expression not easily to be matched. There was an absolute personal sincerity in her work and, in the treatment of her theme, the vehement virility of a man combined with the choice daintiness of a woman. Added to the dignified passion and sympathetic sensitiveness of the Aeolian temperament was perhaps something of Oriental fervour and imagination. With her, thought and expression go hand in hand in a wonderful way, and as Sappho was poet and musician too, and a dancer to boot, she was able to combine the melody and sweetness of music with the austere harmonies of beautiful words and the rhythms of the dance, of all which she had such complete mastery, into an exquisite whole, to the fullest

appreciation of which we have lost one essential key the knowledge of Sappho's musical measures. Greek music unlike modern did not use the words of lyrics as a mere vocal vehicle for its own expression but coalesced and identified itself with the words which could not nor were intended to, utter their true meaning without it.

§ 42 Sappho's style was easy graceful pointed direct and simple—simple above all—and her technique was perfect. She differed from Alcaeus in that his art was of a grander broader and more massive type. The subtle harmonies of Sappho were not so much at home in the loud notes of politics and war that appealed so much to her contemporary. Horace has drawn the contrast in a well known passage<sup>1</sup> between the plaintive note of Sappho (suited to the Mixolydian mode which she is said to have invented and the *pectis* which she brought into use) and the fuller tone of Alcaeus with his *dura navis dura fugae mala dura belli* and again in his *Alcaei minaces Camenae* and the *communis calores Aeolæ fidibus puellæ*. Ovid<sup>2</sup> makes her admit that the lyre of Alcaeus *grandius sonat*. But though the partiality of Horace is apparently against us we should not hesitate a moment if the choice were ours to recover the lost poems of Sappho rather than those of Alcaeus<sup>3</sup>. They both unlocked their hearts in their lyrics and we can imagine many another Alcaeus but there has been only one Sappho as there has been but one Joan of Arc. In either case Nature broke the die which she had made.

<sup>1</sup> *Odes* II 13 27 IV 9 8 and 11

*Heroid.* xv 30

In the inventory of the Temple of Apollo in Delos M. Homolle has discovered an item, "a three-cornered case containing books of Alcaeus."

*What was Sappho Like?*

§ 43 It remains to say what can be said as to Sappho's personal appearance. We should naturally wish and suppose her to have been rather over than under the general high level of Greek beauty, and our hearts go with Swinburne when he writes of—

The small dark body's Lesbian loveliness  
That held the fire eternal

It therefore comes somewhat as a shock to us, when we find that ancient tradition will have none of this. A scrap of Sappho's biography recently discovered in Egypt<sup>1</sup> is quite uncompromising in the matter, and records "In appearance she seems to have been quite insignificant and unusually plain, being of a dusky complexion and small stature." Maximus Tyrius,<sup>2</sup> a philosopher of the second century A.D., remarks that she was called *καλῇ* because of her poetry, though in person she was small and dark. Earlier is Ovid's evidence, if he wrote the *Epistle to Phaon*, for he makes her speak of herself as small and short and dark.<sup>3</sup> A mediæval commentator on Lucian<sup>4</sup> is quite as emphatic with his "As to her body Sappho was extremely ill-favoured, being small and dark in appearance, and for all the world like a nightingale enfolding a little body with misshapen wings." All these statements evidently look back to a common source, which was perhaps the above-mentioned treatise of Chamaeleon, who was Aristotle's disciple and a man of considerable learning.

<sup>1</sup> Oxyr. Pap. xv, 1800

<sup>2</sup> 24, 7, *μικρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μέλαιναν*, cf. for the expression Anth. Pal. v, 121 (Philodemus), *μικκὴ καὶ μελανέσσα*

<sup>3</sup> *Heroid* xv, 33, 35, 37—*corpore parva, brevis, non candida*

<sup>4</sup> *Imagg* 18. The scholion may derive ultimately from Didymus or perhaps from Arethas

But the only statement of his relating to Sappho which has survived lends support to so inaccurate a suggestion that we cannot place much reliance upon any other details emanating from him. Athenaeus tells us that Chamaeleon in his book says that some writers asserted that Anacreon wrote a poem to her, which Sappho answered in verse.<sup>1</sup> But the latter poem as Athenaeus remarks is obviously not by Sappho. Nor was Anacreon's poem addressed to her.

§ 44 We are in fact without any means of judging of the value of the tradition which makes Sappho plain even to ugliness. Perhaps the only thing in its favour is that it is contrary to our preconceived notions and not likely therefore to have been invented. But this may have been a conception of Sappho's outward semblance to which the comic poets gave currency. The undoubted ugliness of Socrates must have been a valuable asset to the comic drama. But it is necessary to reckon with the possibility that Sappho was not of pure Greek descent. Lesbos was at various times overrun with settlers from different races of the Asiatic mainland. Sappho's father had a name Shamandronymus which recalls associations with the Troad a district at one time in the sphere of Lesbian influence. Our own Columban<sup>2</sup> ranks her among Trougenæ and Solinus names her with Asiatic writers which in itself the near proximity of Lesbos to the Asiatic coast would hardly seem to warrant.

§ 45 However that may be if Sappho was like her brother Larichus she must have been at least of comely appearance as the office which he held was only open to

<sup>1</sup> These are given below p. 181. See Athen. xiii 599 C. Bergk, Sappho, 26. Anacr. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle ad Fedolium, v 110.

well-born youths who were also εὐπρεπεῖς<sup>1</sup> Charaxus, too, in Posidippus's epigram<sup>2</sup> is called χαρίεις But even if Sappho lacked the beauty of feature which we see so idealized in the best Greek statuary, yet she must have had compensating charm, and she certainly had abundance of wit Antipater, when he refers to her as the "glory of Lesbian women with lovely hair," may be using merely a stock epithet with no personal relevance, but we should naturally take it that he intended Sappho to share in that characteristic Alcaeus has immortalized her with the beautiful epithet μελλιχόμειδε, "gently-smiling" We can hardly doubt but that her voice was sweet, as in a singer of her own songs and a teacher of the art it should needs have been, and she is compared to a nightingale,<sup>3</sup> and in an epigram by Antipater of Sidon called μελίφωνος<sup>4</sup> As a dancer too, she would naturally have shapely feet, and merit the distinctive epithet ποικιλοσάμβalos which Anacreon uses in a poem wrongly supposed to refer to Sappho<sup>5</sup>

The epithet καλή merits a few words We have seen above that Maximus<sup>6</sup> interprets it to mean that her poetry was beautiful Plato<sup>7</sup> couples Σαπφὼ ἡ καλή with Ἀνακρέων ὁ σοφός, but he calls Sappho too σοφή Plutarch<sup>8</sup> also calls her καλή in connexion with the Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος Ode Maximus simply repeats Plato over again Athenaeus<sup>9</sup> echoes the epithet,

<sup>1</sup> Eustath ad Hom, *Il* xx, 234 (Schol Victor)

<sup>2</sup> See p 3

<sup>3</sup> Schol Lucian, *Imagg* 18, and Athen xiii, 598 (from Hermesianax)

<sup>4</sup> Anth Pal ix, 66 See p 45

<sup>5</sup> Bergk, *Anacr* 14

<sup>6</sup> 24, 7, διὰ τὴν ὥραν τῶν μελῶν

<sup>7</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235b, Aelian, *V H* xii, 19

<sup>8</sup> *Amat* 763a

<sup>9</sup> Athen x, 424 C

and Julian <sup>1</sup> twice uses it Themistius contrasts Σαπφω ἡ καλὴ with Πίνδαρος ὁ γενναῖος Obviously we get nothing for our purpose from this epithet

*Some Testimonies to Sappho*

§ 46 So much for the literary tradition In concluding this review of the total materials which remain to us for forming a conception of Sappho's life and character and before we go on to inquire whether any representation of her has come down to us it will be enough to quote Strabo's <sup>2</sup> mention of her as θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα a veritable portent whom no woman of recorded times had in her art even approached Demetrius calls her θεῖά divine and she was universally acclaimed as the tenth Muse as in Plato's epigram <sup>3</sup> above and in this

Mnemosyné was struck with amaze when she heard  
honey voiced

Sappho for fear that a tenth Muse had appeared  
among men <sup>4</sup>

and this—

Sister elect of Pieria's Muses Lesbian Sappho  
Ninth of the lyric poets am I but tenth of the Muses <sup>5</sup>  
and this anonymous epigram <sup>6</sup>

From Thebes clanged Pindar's eagle cry delight

Breathed from the honey tongued Simonides

Stesichorus Ibycus as flame were bright

Sweet Alcman dainty voiced Bacchylides

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 19 and 30

xiii, 617

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 18

*Anth. Pal.* ix, 66 (Antipater of Sidon)

<sup>3</sup> *Ausonius, Epigr.* 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Anth. Pal.* ix, 371 εἰς τοὺς δέκα Λυμναῖος

Charm by Anacreon walked , with subtle grace  
 Alcaeus chanted to his Lesbian lyre ,  
 Sappho of mortals was not ninth, her place  
 The tenth among the lovely Muses' quire

*Representations of Sappho, inscribed with her name*

§ 47 The earliest representations, or supposed representations, of Sappho cannot be dated earlier than 70 to 100 years after her death, which we may conjecture to have taken place about 550 B C. She was not born before 620, and had she lived to any great age she would have been quoted among the *Μακρόβιοι* of Phlegon or Lucian. Sappho is only represented by name on half a dozen red-figured vases of the fifth century B C., none being earlier than 480 B C., and on late imperial Roman coins of the second and third centuries A D. Her name also appears on a gem (from the Marlborough Collection),<sup>1</sup> but King pronounces the inscription to be a forgery,<sup>2</sup> and on an incised stone<sup>2</sup> from the Abbé Gravelle Collection, where a female figure is shown playing on a lyre and leaning against a pillar on which the name Σαπφώ is inscribed.<sup>3</sup> Besides these, one bust bears the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ but it is not authentic.<sup>4</sup>

*Vase Paintings*

§ 48 The earliest coinage of Lesbos, with female heads on the obverse, and the red-figured Athenian vases on which Sappho is named, are approximately of the same period, round about the middle of the fifth

<sup>1</sup> See Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 113. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 236 and plate lxix, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See § 72.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach *Pierres Gravées*, pl. lxxxii.

<sup>4</sup> For illustration of this see Wolf's Sappho (Frontispiece).

century B.C. Of these two the vase figures are of no use to us in recovering the features of Sappho. They are purely conventional and depict scenes of social life among women: musical meetings and such like, or in some cases have a symbolical meaning.<sup>1</sup> They tell us nothing more than the current conception of Sappho. Their intention is not, as a rule, to depict her<sup>2</sup> so much as to use her name to add to their pictures. They are not even of much help towards realizing the customs or the costumes of the previous century or a distant island. However such as they are, they merit description. They are six in all —

(1) The earliest of these, dating from early in the fifth century, is the Dzialinsky Vase<sup>3</sup> a *kalpis* from Athens. It is inscribed  $\Theta\varsigma\Lambda\Theta\Theta$  and shows her walking alone with a lyre of seven strings in her left hand and a plectrum in the right, evidently playing. She is dressed in a *chiton* with sleeves and over it a flowered *himation* thrown back from the right shoulder. The hair is confined in a *sakkos* or cloth wrapping which lets a tuft of hair escape at the back, as we see on some of the coins hereafter to be mentioned, while the rest forms a ball on the nape of the neck. A fold of the *sakkos* seems to enclose two little side-locks that fall on the cheek. She wears a necklace and apparently ear-rings, in this also resembling the early coins. The eye is represented in the archaic flat style.

(2) Closely following this in date is the magnificent crater from Agrigentum now at Munich, on which are represented, with their names, Alcaeus and Sappho ( $\varsigma\Lambda\Phi\Theta$ ). Between the figures runs perpendicularly

<sup>1</sup> As with the *kylix* vase.

This is not true, of course, of the Alcaeus vase.

<sup>2</sup> Of the period when the black figured vases were giving way to the red figured ones.



the name or words *Dama kalos* <sup>1</sup> Alcaeus is seen on the left standing with his feet together, holding a lyre of seven strings in his left and a plectrum in his right hand. His head is bowed, and notes (or words) are apparently issuing from his lips. He seems somewhat abashed before Sappho, who also carries a similar lyre and plectrum, but her lyre hangs down at a slope, and she wears a somewhat severe expression. She is evidently turning away from Alcaeus and preparing to move off. Alcaeus is bearded and the ends of his hair fall down in curls over his cheek and neck, the rest being confined, except for a tuft over the forehead, by a single band, the extremities of which hang down in two tassels over the nape of the neck. He is dressed in a brodered chiton and a himation thrown back from the right shoulder. Sappho is dressed in a chiton and peplos, which is withdrawn from her right arm. She wears a necklace and apparently ear-rings. Her hair is bound by a single band, and she wears a wreath of ivy leaves. Two locks hang down over her breast on the right side and one on the left, and a plait of hair and long locks reaching below her knees hang down her back. The hair on her forehead escaping from the band forms a fringe.

This picture has generally been taken—and surely with reason—to depict the incident recorded in *Fragm. 27*, where Alcaeus is supposed to have made some unworthy proposal to Sappho, which she rejects with a tactful rebuke. If this is so, the vase is of extraordinary interest to us. If we could think of Alcaeus and Sappho as being exiled together to Sicily, we might by a flight of fancy regard the incident as having occurred in Sicily, and so have come to be portrayed on a vase at Agrigentum.

On another side of the vase appear two similar figures,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *CIG* 7759





the man on the left wreathed with ivy bearded and with locks of hair falling down his back holding up a cantharus in his right hand with a washbasin to the smiling figure opposite to him who is also wreathed with ivy and wears her hair in exactly the same way as in the first picture. She carries in her right hand a little jug or oinochoë held out towards the male figure corresponding to his cantharus. Their dress is similar to that of the other two figures. Each carries a branch of ivy in the left hand. The word *καλός* issues from the lips of each. There does not seem any imperative reason<sup>1</sup> why these figures should not be Alcaeus and Sappho again celebrating a reconciliation over the wine-cup.

(3) Dating a little later and about the middle of the century is the next vase painting from the Middleton Collection in Paris. It is the well known and enigmatical *ῥίλας* vase. It shows Sappho and in Eros as Comparetti suggests the Love of Sappho personified. She is seated on a three-legged stool without a back dressed in a long chiton and short upper garment her feet on a footstool. She holds in her left hand a scroll of her poems and her right rests on the edge of the stool. Her hair is bound with crossing bands as we shall see it in the Sappho busts some hair escaping over the forehead and a spiral curl by the ear. She wears a necklace and bracelets. She is gazing intently at her scroll while a nude winged Eros crowned with a garland coming in haste offers her a wreath. Over the sitting figure's head is ΣΑΠΦΩ and over Eros outstretched arm the word ΤΑΛΑΣ. It is most probable that this cryptic word refers not to the Phaon fable which was probably not invented then but to the bitter-sweet<sup>2</sup> consequences of that passion.

<sup>1</sup> The cantharus is supposed to show that Dionysos is depicted.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm.* 18, 46-47

of love which Sappho so certainly experienced and so feelingly portrayed

(4) A little later still is the Michaelis lecythus in Berlin, carrying us a stage further in the idealization of Sappho <sup>1</sup> It represents a group of ten major and three minor figures with a bird singing and a dappled fawn In the centre sits Thamyras, the fabled Thracian bard who challenged the Muses for supremacy in song, with a gorgeous lyre of twelve strings in his left hand and a plectrum in his right He is dressed in a splendid embroidered spangled and decorated coat His cloak is apparently thrown off and he is sitting upon it (no chair being shown here or elsewhere in the picture) His legs are bare and he wears buskins His curled hair is wreathed with bay Over him is the name ΘΑΜΥΡΙΕ On the upper part of the picture, parallel with Thamyras on his left, are two figures, one Apollo, as the name above him shows, wreathed with bay and holding a branch of bay upright between his left hand and his body He has his back turned to Thamyras, and seems to take little interest in the proceedings Back to back with him is a female figure, holding and gazing, as she walks forward, at what looks like a necklace depending from her left to her right hand, but the component parts, consisting of little discs, are not threaded together and seem to be falling from the one hand to the other Her head-dress is peculiar, and it is not clear whether she wears a stephané or a broad stiff band over her forehead Her part in the scene is not obvious Beyond Thamyras, on his right, is a complicated group of figures On the upper line is Aphrodite sitting with Eros winged on her right shoulder and looking up at him She

<sup>1</sup> So Compagetti

wears a jewelled *stephané* and a necklace and is dressed in a close-fitting *chiton* down to her feet. Over her lap and leaning on it bends a girl in a similar *chiton* with necklace and bracelets her hair tied simply at the back leaving a knot of hair beyond the band. She is stretching her right hand towards a bird with open beak released by a winged boy. The boy's right hand rests on the knee of a woman who sits below Aphrodite with her left arm round another (wingless) boy. He stands below her with his right foot on her chair (the chairs are not represented). To the right of Aphrodite's head and a little above the girl bending over her is the inscription  $\Sigma\text{AO}$  (? for  $\Sigma\text{A}\Theta$ ) which must refer to the lower figure and not to the one we have called Aphrodite. The figure below which is gazing at *Thamyris* as *Sappho* also seems to be has a *stephané* and is most probably *Peitho*. The winged boy is supposed to be *Himeros* and the other boy *Pothos*. The bird would be a nightingale as connected in legend with *Thamyris* and also a designation of *Sappho*. To the right of Aphrodite is a standing figure wearing a *stephané* with a lyre and plectrum raised as if to strike the lyre. She will be perhaps a Muse. Before her is a girl sitting with a roll in her left hand and her right hand raised towards her mouth. She and the Muse above are looking at *Thamyris*. Below and to the left of *Thamyris* is another similar girl with necklace and ear rings sitting a lyre lying idle in her right hand at her side with a dappled fawn beyond it and looking away from her. Lastly there is a similar girl below and beyond *Apollo* sitting with a lyre in her left hand but no plectrum. She too gazes at *Thamyris*. The whole represents a musical display of some kind but *Sappho's* part in it or that of her three girl companions is not so clear as

might be wished Her affectionate relations with Aphrodite is the only point of interest plainly discernible The whole picture is a lovely composition, and the figures and their features, though conventional, more than usually attractive

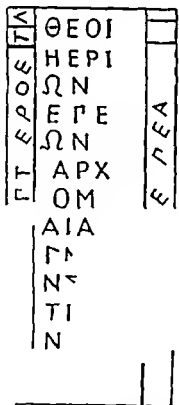
(5) Late in the fifth century is the probable date of the painting on the three-handled damaged hydria at Athens<sup>1</sup> It represents Sappho seated reading from a roll on which the words are still to some extent decipherable Behind her stands a girl holding a wreath of ivy leaves over her head. Inscribed above her is the name Nikopolis, though the  $\iota$  seems more like an  $\epsilon$  and the  $\kappa$  more like  $\lambda$  The girl standing in front of the figure of Sappho holds a six-stringed lyre out towards her, between which and Sappho's head is inscribed the word  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\phi\omega\varsigma$ , equivalent we may suppose to *Sapphous*, signifying that the lyre is Sappho's<sup>2</sup> Over this girl's head and arm is the name *Καλλίς* Behind her is another girl unnamed, with her left hand on Kallis's shoulder The attitude of Sappho is very similar to that of a girl reading from a scroll on a gem in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> The hair of all the girls is fastened with bands and has a general resemblance to the coiffure of the Alban bust They are dressed in chiton and himation, the latter, except in the case of the lyre-holder partly thrown off The interest of this picture centres in the words on the scroll The roll which Sappho is holding in both hands is only unrolled as far as the first column As the appearance of the part still unrolled, held by the right hand, suggests, there is much more to be unrolled than has been already opened

<sup>1</sup> See p 76

<sup>2</sup> Edmonds, *Class Quart*, Jan 1922, takes the genitive to mean the picture is that "of Sappho"

<sup>3</sup> See below

The two ends that curl over as held by Sappho have written upon them perpendicularly on the left margin ΠΤΕΡΟΝΤΑ (probably though the last three letters are doubtful) Some prefer to read *πτερά εχει* and certainly the fifth letter seems angular<sup>1</sup> for an O and the N is not visible owing to horizontal lines drawn by the painter to mark the outside of the roll On the right hand curled-over margin the word ΕΠΕΑ is clear The two words obviously give the title of the roll After *ἔπει* there is room for a letter or two and slight traces of what may be letters From the illustration it will be seen that Sappho's hands cover a portion of the words inscribed on the roll. It is clear from certain indications that the letters were painted in after the hands were drawn



<sup>1</sup> In the original it is more like a delta with the right limb of the triangle not joined.



As the reproduction here given shows, the words on the inner face of the roll read, *θεοι, ηεριων επεων αρχομαι, αλλ' <α>ναιτικων*. The doubtful and difficult letters are in line nine, the second letter of which may be a λ, but the slope of the down stroke is more pronounced than in the letter before it. In line ten the remains of the second letter seem rather to point to a Σ than an Α, which would have to be very much tilted to correspond to the traces that remain. The main objection to the reading *ἀναιτίων* is that it involves letters in lines 9, 10 and 11 being covered by the hand. As they were not all painted in, this is possible.<sup>1</sup> Mr Edmonds reads *ὀνάτων*,<sup>2</sup> but the Ο is more than doubtful, and in the eleventh line the straight line after the Τ cannot be twisted into an Ω. Mr Edmonds has dealt very fully with the whole of this interesting inscription in his article in the *Classical Quarterly* mentioned above, to which we cannot do better than refer our readers. He thinks we may have here genuine words of Sappho. But Pauly-Wissowa in the *Real-Encyclopädie* are much more doubtful.

(6) A three-handled red-figured hydria, of which the whereabouts is now unknown. It was found in Attica in 1880, and passed into private hands. Mylonas thus describes it.<sup>3</sup> Five women appear on the front face, four of whom are completely preserved, but of the fifth, the furthest on the left, only the feet. On the right under the handle of the hydria sits a woman dressed in a fine chiton and over it a himation, playing the

<sup>1</sup> But we are not at liberty, Mr Edmonds says, to suppose that letters are hidden under the fingers of the hand which holds the roll.

<sup>2</sup> "Good to hear." Cf. a gem illustrated in Jac Gronovius, *Gemmae et Sculpturae antiquae*, where a woman with a lyre is seen leaning on a pillar, behind which are the words *ὀνήσας ἔποισι* (?)

<sup>3</sup> Bulletin de Corresp Hellénique, iv, 373 (1880), in *Mélanges Archéologiques*. The vessel was badly damaged when found.

double flute Her seat (as in the *Thamyras* vase) is not shown In front of her fixed high up on the wall is an object of an indefinite character the upper part being like a Phrygian flute (*ελυμος*) and the lower like a *taenia* Next as an inscription tells us comes Sappho dressed similarly except that her himation is adorned with broad borders. She is sitting and playing on the tortoiseshell lyre. Above her head appears the inscription ΣΑΓΦΩ (= Σαπφω in the Boeotian dialect says Mylonas)<sup>1</sup> Opposite her is a woman wearing a sleeveless fringed chiton with a border and a double cloak the left foot resting on a raised floor which is not shown (as was also the case in the *Thamyras* vase) Her hand is gracefully pointed towards her mouth (compare again with this the same vase) as she listens attentively to Sappho playing Behind her stands another woman in a long chiton and cloak playing on a *sambuca*<sup>2</sup> It is evident that a musical entertainment or contest is in progress

It is unfortunate that Mylonas did not give us a much more detailed description of the figures as the vase cannot be traced There is besides the above apparently a red figured lekythus in private hands in Austria inscribed ΣΑΓΦΩ which would date like the others from the fifth century<sup>3</sup>

### *Paintings of Sappho*

§ 49 Before passing on to the coins it may be mentioned that only one picture of Sappho is recorded by ancient writers It was by a certain Leon<sup>4</sup> of whom

<sup>1</sup> Others take it as = Σαπφως but Edmonds as Σαπφω.

A Syrian musical instrument with a very shrill tone

See Katalog d. Wiener Arch. Ausstellung 1893 p. 79 n. 1028.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny *N.H.* xxxv. 35 The word *psalterium*, which is sometimes taken to agree with *Sappho* probably belongs to the sentence before.

the only fact known is that he painted this picture. This picture (or possibly another one) is the subject of an epigram by Damocharis about A D 400<sup>1</sup>

Quick Nature gave thee, Painter, skill to draw  
The Muse of Mitylene without flaw  
Her eyes are wells of brightness that do show  
How her swift fancies with deft thoughts o'erflow  
Her skin by nature smooth, by art undressed,  
Makes her simplicity more manifest  
Her face's blended thought and mirth declare  
That Cypris and the Muse are mingled there

### *Sappho Represented on Coins*

§ 50 We will now pass on to the evidence of coins (with which, to some extent, the busts must be associated). These, as far as they are concerned with Sappho, belong to two distinct epochs, the first covering the 250 years between 500 and 250 B C , and the second, the hundred years between 150 and 250 A D . In the first period we have three different coin-issues to deal with among the early coins of Lesbos, Mitylene, and Eresus. These are (a) coins of about 500 B C or a little later, made of a debased metal, and called *billon*, (b) coins struck in electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. Though quite small (sixths), they are of singularly beautiful workmanship. They date from about 450 to 350 B C ,<sup>2</sup> lastly, (c) small bronze coins issued during the next hundred years under Alexander and his successors. The second and later issues, with which we are here concerned, were of imperial bronze coins of Mitylene and Eresus, under Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Julia Domna, and Gallienus.

<sup>1</sup> Anth. Pal. xvi, 310 (Planudean Anthology)

<sup>2</sup> And so synchronize with the earlier busts

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AUTONOMOUS ELECTRUM COINS OF LESBOS  
(440-350 B.C.)



§ 51 There would appear to be no silver coins bearing the head of Sappho. Yet Wolf on the frontispiece of his edition of Sappho gives illustrations of two<sup>1</sup>. The first is a coin of largish size with a female head to r the hair being entirely hidden in a loose coil<sup>2</sup>. The reverse has a polypus with ΜΥΤΙΑ above it. The second has on the obverse a pleasing female head to right with a simple wreath as fillet and some locks hanging down the back. This is not like a Sappho head. The reverse has the legend ΣΑΠΦΩ ΛΕΣΒΙΣ and shows her playing the lyre as she walks and apparently singing. She wears a chiton and her upper garment is bellied like a sail behind her by the wind<sup>3</sup>. Her hair is arranged in the same way as that of the head on the obverse.

§ 52 We are told by those whose judgment is entitled to every respect that there is no instance known of the portrait of any historical character on coins before the time of Alexander and consequently that there can be no question of Sappho's head being so represented on the early coinage of Lesbos. But some considerations would appear to make it not impossible however improbable that Sappho may have formed an exception to this rule. It is not inconceivable that there may have been an early portrait statue of Sappho from which a mint artist might have borrowed certain features and we know that on a coin of Himera struck before its name was changed from Therma to Himera and therefore not long after its foundation in 648 is a representation of Stesichorus Sappho's contemporary

<sup>1</sup> See Bährner *Zeits. f. Numismat.* ix, pt. ii 1881 p. 127. No doubt these two coins are considered forgeries.

For similar examples see below p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the coin of Syracuse mentioned § 58.

evidently taken from a statue<sup>1</sup> Besides, Sappho may be called an exceptional case She was regarded in early times (exactly how early is not known) as the tenth Muse, which gave her a semi-divine character This is brought out in the Epigram of Dioscorides<sup>2</sup>—

Thou of Æolian Eresus the Muse,  
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,  
 Sappho with whom each Muse her honour shares  
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—  
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand,  
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,  
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cypris' love,  
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy grove  
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,  
 For daughters of the Gods thy songs still are

She was looked upon as Aphrodite's high-priestess, her minister and favourite, and it is as natural, as it is easy, to suppose that, if her features were known even for fifty years after her death, her head might have been taken, perhaps in an idealized form, to stand for Aphrodite,<sup>3</sup> or the Muse of Poetry There was constant intercourse with Egypt even in Sappho's time, and the art of portrait sculpture had been known in Egypt for centuries We should rather expect her to be honoured from the first with some statue or representation on the coinage At all events we know that later she was so honoured Aristotle<sup>4</sup> implies that she received some such tribute from her fellow-citizens, and Pollux, in

<sup>1</sup> See Burchner, *Zeits f Numism* ix, pt II, p 111.

<sup>2</sup> Anth Pal vii, 407, see below, p 184

<sup>3</sup> The possibility of a mortal head being utilized in any form for a divine one is stoutly denied by some

<sup>4</sup> *Rhet* 1398b

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BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE  
(350-250 B.C.)





the time of Marcus Aurelius states explicitly that the Mitylenaeans put her head upon their coins <sup>1</sup>

§ 53 As Bernoulli has pointed out there are several points in connexion with these coins which raise a prejudice in our minds in favour of the head represented upon them being intended for Sappho. Such are the place of minting the tortoiseshell lyre on the reverse and the treatment of the hair in certain coins. To this may be added the fact that some of the busts or statues most generally accepted on other grounds as representing Sappho recall the style of head upon the coins. Moreover the long continuance of this type on the coinage shows that it was considered as especially appropriate to Mitylene. We may therefore without much misgiving take it with the limitations before specified that Sappho was meant to be represented upon some at least of these coins. That the features of the head are not always quite the same need not be a fatal objection to this view as even in the later undoubted representations of such notable persons as Alexander we find great divergence in the heads depicted both on coins and in busts.

§ 54 As Sappho is not named on the early electrum or bronze coins it is only by conjecture that these can be assigned to her. It is not so with the later bronze coins of the Imperial age. Some of these have a bust of Sappho with her name attached others have a figure with a lyre either seated or standing which is obviously meant for Sappho though not actually named so. Admiration for Sappho as we see from the many references to her in the writers of the period was widely

<sup>1</sup> *Onom.* ix, 84. Though he may be referring only to the recent appearance of Sappho's head upon the coins of Mitylene or Eresus, yet a consideration of the whole passage shows that this is by no means certain.

prevalent in the century during which these coins were issued. The coins which thus revived the memory of Sappho were struck at Eresus and Mitylene. The former were undoubtedly meant to portray the poetess, and not the courtesan of Eresus,<sup>1</sup> and we can conceive of no other reason for this except that she was born there, though her home became and remained Mitylene.

§ 55 The coins with which we are concerned here are —

(1) A coin of Antoninus Pius<sup>2</sup> with his head on the obverse. On the reverse is a head of Sappho with the legend  $\Sigma\Lambda\Phi\Omega$  and apparently  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ . The hair is bound with a sphendoné, or sling-pattern band, letting a tuft of loose hair escape behind.

(2) The second, issued under Antoninus Pius<sup>3</sup> (as is supposed from the coiffure), at Mitylene, has a most striking portrait of Sappho on the obverse, facing right, with the legend  $\psi\Lambda\pi\ \Omega$ . In both the extant specimens there is this gap between the two letters without any trace of the missing letter, which would be  $\phi$ , but might conceivably be  $\pi$ . The reverse has  $\text{MYTIA-HNAION}$  and a seven-stringed lyre. The portrait shows energy, intellect, and individuality.

(3) The third is a coin of Commodus,<sup>4</sup> with his head upon the obverse. The reverse gives the bust of Sappho with legend  $\Sigma\Lambda\Phi\Omega\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ .<sup>5</sup> Though somewhat similar to the head on the first coin, the Sappho here

<sup>1</sup> Athen. xiii, 596 E.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is not mentioned by Forrer, or Burchner, or Bernoulli.

<sup>3</sup> See Burchner, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* ix, pt. 11, and plate, and Forrer, *Revue Belge de Numism.* 1901, p. 401, who gives an atrocious illustration of it.

<sup>4</sup> See Burchner, *ibid.*, p. 116, and pl. iv, 7.

<sup>5</sup> A very rare if not unique specimen, also at Paris.

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IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE  
(140-190 A.D.)



has a more pleasing and less distressful expression. Bärchner speaks of the mouth and eyes as exhibiting *schmachtende Sehnsucht*. The hair shows the same loose tuft at the back though owing to the worn condition of the coin this is not well seen and the coiffure is not clearly discernible. It seems from the furrows that appear at the top of the head as if the hair was bound with bands at regular intervals. In the previous coin (2) though the coin is in good preservation it is difficult to be sure whether the hair is bound with bands or wound round with plaits of hair as has been done in modern days. But there is certainly no tuft or knot of hair at the back.<sup>1</sup>

§ 56 The other coins of this period which do not bear Sappho's bust but certainly refer to her show her as sitting or standing with a lyre in her hands or at her side. These are

(1) A small bronze coin of Eresus of the Antonine period in the Vienna Collection.<sup>2</sup> The obverse has Hermes bearded and wearing a petasus. He stands on a base or ship's prow holding a caduceus in his right and a horn of abundance in his left hand with the letters ΕΡΕΣΙ. On the reverse is a figure with ΣΑΦΦΩ inscribed opposite sitting to left. She holds in her outstretched right hand a plectrum (or possibly a rell) and leans her left arm on a lyre placed behind her on a seat.

§ 57 The other four coins which give a figure of Sappho without her name are coins of Mitylene two of the reign of Pius of which one has the bust of Julia Procla<sup>3</sup> on the obverse and the other that of a second

<sup>1</sup> The back of the head is quite round, nearly as much so as in the extraordinary bust at the Terme Museum in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Bärchner *ibid.* p. 117 pl. iv 9.

Bärchner, *ibid.* p. 118 pl. iv 8.

heroine, Nausicaa<sup>1</sup> The reverse of the Procla coin represents Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right and playing on a lyre of four strings set on her knee, or (in a second series) standing to right and holding with both hands a lyre placed on a column<sup>2</sup> and playing it The obverse of the Nausicaa coin is similar to the former of these Both coins have on the obverse the name of the Strategus and MYTI or MYTIA or the full name

The third coin was struck, probably at Mitylene, under Julia Domna, and there is a specimen at Vienna On the reverse Sappho is seated to left Her right arm is obliterated, while her left hand holds a lyre placed beside her on the chair This is somewhat similar to the Eresus reverse

Lastly, there is a coin with the bust of Gallienus on the obverse, and on the reverse Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right on a high-backed chair, and playing a lyre The reverse also bears the inscription MYTIAHNAIΩN and the name of Valerius Aristomachus

§ 58 Besides the above, an attempt has been lately made<sup>3</sup> to prove that Sappho is represented on a Syracusan coin of the third century B C It is a half-drachma, having on the obverse a laureated head of Apollo, and on the reverse ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ, and a female figure standing to left wearing a long chiton and diploïdion, her overgarment being belled like a sail behind her In her left hand she carries a branch of laurel, and in her right a half-opened roll, on which are traces of words, perhaps never intended to be decipherable Mirone thinks

<sup>1</sup> Forrer, *Rev Belge de Numism* 1901, p 420 Burchner, *Zeits d Numism*, pl iv, 8 (reverse)

<sup>2</sup> Cf the gem below, p 73

<sup>3</sup> *Rev Numism*, ser iv, vol xxv, 1922, with plate

thus to be a representation of Silanion's statue which stood in the Prytaneum of Syracuse till stolen by Verres.<sup>1</sup>

§ 59 It has been supposed with great probability that all the reverses of the Imperial coins which represent Sappho were taken from statues and certainly they have every appearance of being so but there is no positive evidence on the subject

### *Busts of Sappho*<sup>2</sup>

§ 60 It is somewhat surprising that not a single statue or bust has come down to us bearing Sappho's name.<sup>3</sup> So famous a personality and one so especially adapted for artistic treatment must have been constantly represented both in painting<sup>4</sup> and sculpture. It is moreover most unlikely that not one of these representations should have come down to our time. We have seen that there are five or six vases bristle things at the best in which Sappho is pictured still extant. It is natural to suppose that the sculptors of the fifth century B.C. when Sappho as the vase paintings show was in the minds of men exercised their skill upon a subject likely to be so congenial to them. Yet as a matter of fact we have definite records of only two statues of Sappho known in antiquity. There is the celebrated statue by Silanion an Athenian sculptor of the fourth century just mentioned Cicero who

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Ad Verrem* ii. 4. 57. Others think the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue.

<sup>2</sup> For these see Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie* i. 64-72. Furtwängler *Masterpieces* pp. 69 ff. Percy Gardner *J.H.S.* 1918 38, pp. 1-76.

<sup>3</sup> There is, indeed, a bust with the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ given by Bellori *Imag.* 63 and pictured by Wolf in the frontispiece of his *Sappho* but the inscription is a forgery.

<sup>4</sup> The only picture of Sappho we hear of was by a painter named Leon (see above).



may very likely have exaggerated its merits, calls it *opus tam perfectum tam elegans tam elaboratum*. If not a masterpiece, it must at all events have been a fine work of art, though Silanion did not stand in the highest rank of sculptors. Words can scarcely express, says Cicero, the sense of loss felt by the people of Syracuse, when this splendid work of art was carried away by Verres, leaving only its base with a very noble inscription in Greek upon it, discarded, he maliciously asserts, because Verres could not read it <sup>1</sup>. Why the Syracusans held Sappho in such honour is not known, but it may have some connexion with her flight to Sicily. Theocritus, himself a Syracusan, was, as his imitations of her show, an admirer of Sappho in the third century B C. Possibly, as we have already seen, this very statue was portrayed on a Syracusan coin <sup>2</sup>.

§ 61 The only other statue, of which we have any knowledge, is one which existed much later in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos in Constantinople. Christodorus, a poet of Egypt about A D 500, thus speaks of it in his metrical description of the statuary there

The Lesbian Sappho there at rest was wrought,  
The clear-voiced sweet Pierian bee, <sup>3</sup>  
Giving the silent Muses all her thought  
She seemed to weave some lovely melody

No certain copy of this statue has come down to us

§ 62 Before glancing at the numerous busts and statues that have been called *Sappho*, we must discuss a little

<sup>1</sup> Probably the epigram of Antipater given above, p. 45

<sup>2</sup> Though some (Winter and Bernoulli) think that the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue

<sup>3</sup> On the gem in the Marlborough Collection generally taken to represent Sappho, there are in the field a lyre and a bee

more fully one of the main points which lead to this identification and the one which chiefly connects them with the so-called Sappho coins of the early periods. This is the style of coiffure which we find depicted on the different busts and coins. But as the different types to some extent run into one another it is not always easy to differentiate them.

There are three general types (a) a coil or kerchief<sup>1</sup> covering the whole head<sup>2</sup> so that no hair shows at all. French writers sometimes call this a *cécryphale* and the Germans *haube*. That something similar may even still be in use among the Greeks seems probable from an entry in Lady Franklin's Diary (6th July 1858)<sup>3</sup> where she speaks of a Greek lady of Chalcis whose head was covered in an indescribable way with a silk kerchief entirely covering it passing from the forehead behind<sup>4</sup>. Possibly something of the same kind was meant by the *χειρόμακτρα* sent by Sappho for Aphrodite.<sup>5</sup> (b) The second variety is often termed the *σάκκος*<sup>6</sup> where the hair is mostly covered by a wrap but some is left visible either quite at the back as in the Antonine coins and the Dzialinski vase and the lovely Vienna bust or on the hunder part of the

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Wolf's *Sappho* Frontispiece, No. 3 and the Agostino gem, *ibid.*, No. 2 also the beautiful gem in King's *Hand book* pl. lxxix, 6 the *Albani Statue* and the *Tête du cécryphale* Pottier (*Corr. Hellén.* i, 596) the Pitti Palace bust and the terra cotta relief at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Also found on Phocaean coins. There seems to have been an agreement between Phocaea and Mitylene as to a common coinage. See Newton *Trans. Roy. Society of Literature* 1866.

<sup>3</sup> See under date, Lady Franklin's Diary—in her *Life* by W. F. Rawnsley 1923.

Gipsies sometimes wear a similar head-dress.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragm.* 97.

This is also applied sometimes to the little cup made by the sphendoné to hold up the back knot of the hair.

crown as in the Albani bust, and some of the early coins of Lesbos,<sup>1</sup> or in streaks or slits here and there where the folds of the bands do not overlap, as in the Terme bust at Rome and the one in the Galeria Geografica at the Vatican and the bust in the British Museum, 1828 (c) There is thirdly the sphendoné or "sling" type of head-dress. The hair is wound about with one or more bands, a part of which broadens out like a sling. These bands are wound round the hair twice or thrice, separating the back portion in a knot or tuft, which is held up by a small cup of band-cloth like a little *sakkos*.<sup>2</sup> Such an arrangement of the hair is seen on the "Oxford" bust, and the *τάλας* vase, and in the figures on the Athenian hydria. Noticeable, too, is the straight line of the crown of the head carried right on to the end of the back knot.

Two other characteristic features of the coiffure deserve mention. These are the little spiral curls that are seen beside the ears in some of the older busts and statues, as in the Hope Statue at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Albani bust,<sup>3</sup> and a trait which Professor Gardner says is more archaic, the long curls which fall down upon the neck and shoulders, as in the janiform bust at Madrid<sup>4</sup> and the Bellori bust with the forged inscription,<sup>5</sup> and in the Munich vase of Alcaeus and Sappho.

§ 63 There must be nearly fifty busts or statues, which at different times and by various persons have

<sup>1</sup> Cf Brit Mus Catal *Troas*, etc, pl xxxiii, 7

<sup>2</sup> This is sometimes named opisthosphendoné

<sup>3</sup> Also in some of the electrum and bronze coins of Lesbos, cf too the Lansdowne bust

<sup>4</sup> See Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p 68

<sup>5</sup> See frontispiece to Wolf's *Sappho*

been taken to represent Sappho but at least a third of these are more or less fanciful attributions. Not one can be dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C. that is more than 100 years after the probable date of Sappho's death and a quarter of a century subsequent to the issue of the earliest coins of Lesbos.

The earliest type of statue assignable as a Sappho<sup>1</sup> is shown by its style to be of the Pheidias school, and may as Furtwängler and others think be modelled on a draped Aphrodite by Pheidias. These have the early spiral curls and the narrow eyes characteristic of statues of Aphrodite. There is no likelihood that we have a real historical portrait of Sappho in any of these busts. The varieties of the type presented and the divergence from the coin type make it impossible to accept such a view. But on the other hand we cannot regard these representations of her as purely conventional in the same sense as for instance are the busts of Homer. Perhaps a goddess was originally typified but the head afterwards individualized to represent a mortal.

§ 64. A second series of heads somewhat later in date than the preceding consists of many examples and is best exemplified by the Oxford bust the Castellani bust in the British Museum the bust in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond from the late Sir J. C. Robinson's sale and the Madrid bust though there are several other excellent replicas. This has less of the divine type and partakes more of an individualized portrait character. But the experts label it Aphrodite. The Oxford bust has been taken by some to portray a courtesan.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the statue in Mus. Arch. at Florence see Furtwängler and Gardner *II* and the Hope statue in the Ashmolean at Oxford. Bernoulli, i, 72, dismisses the Cleopatra type, which preceded this one, as not held by anyone to be Sappho.

§ 65 But it is when we get to the Albani bust that we feel with some confidence that an individual and woman, not a goddess,<sup>1</sup> is intended, the set and rather full lips and firm jaw bespeak a portrait. Hence it is that some have found in this head a replica of Silanion's statue.<sup>2</sup> It also goes back more nearly to the early coins of Lesbos in its coif and spiral curls. The face and coiffure differ entirely from those of the Oxford bust and its congeners. In the latter the face is nearly oblong, the lips thick and slightly parted. The hair is not covered with a coif, as in the Albani head, but bound with three bands, one over the forehead, letting some locks escape and line the forehead, the second passing over the crown and holding up the back hair with the sphendoné, the third dividing the knot of hair at the back from the rest. The expression is pleasing and somewhat sentimental. Bernoulli,<sup>3</sup> describing the general type, which owing to its widespread occurrence cannot be lightly dismissed, says of the coiffure: "The hair tuft at the back is gathered into a small *sakkos* (i.e. the cup or sling of the sphendoné), from which run bands in three different directions, and are wound round the head. One end passes obliquely over the crown forwards, and is threaded with a little point through the forehead band. The hair is gathered and coiled over the ears, as in the Albani statue,<sup>4</sup> under the band. In some cases two wisps of hair are released and fall over the shoulders."

<sup>1</sup> Though this is the general view of experts who take it to be Persephone.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Winter, *Jahrb d Inst* v, 1890, pl. III, and Gardner, *JHS* 1918, No. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Griech Iconographie*, I, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Kaffeehaus, No. 749, representing a goddess. The Albani bust is *Casino*, No. 1033.

PLATE VIII





§ 66 A bust which has been associated (as a Sappho) with the Albani type is the beautiful Vienna bust<sup>1</sup> The hair is nearly entirely covered by the kerchief being seen only in little streaks here and there But this is now known to be the head of Hygieia as is seen from the statue in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond with an identical head and a serpent wreathed round the body The eyes with their broad lids are cast down in a dreamy look. The originality of the whole conception is manifest. A later and more Praxitelean copy of this bust unfortunately much damaged is in the Terme Museum at Rome We may now definitely rule this out as a bust of Sappho One other bust deserves particular mention—the Pitti Palace bust—dating from the fourth century and a little later than the last mentioned It is somewhat distantly related to the Albani bust but goes back to the coil treatment of the hair It is still more obviously a portrait even than the Albani bust and a poetess is certainly intended Gardner ascribes to it passion and enthusiasm The style is that of Skopas The lips are slightly parted and the head bends forward in a life-like and speaking attitude If not Sappho it must be one of the other well known poetesses of ancient times<sup>2</sup> Korinna perhaps or Erinna or Myrtis or Praxilla.

§ 67 There is also the Uffizi<sup>3</sup> head at Florence with its noble and somewhat sad face It does not seem to conform closely to any of the above types It is a portrait. Bernoulli adds it to the list of replicas given by Furtwängler of the Madrid bust type. There are many other isolated and divergent busts somewhat

<sup>1</sup> *Antiken-Sammlung* 201

See Tatian, *Or ad Græc.* 52 B.

<sup>2</sup> Recalling the older idea.



rashly named "Sappho", such as the one at Wilton house,<sup>1</sup> the bronze bust from Herculaneum, now at Naples, which looks as if it might have been the bust of a modern lady, the Biscari head from Catana,<sup>2</sup> the bust lately in Sir J C Robinson's collection,<sup>3</sup> the fresco from Pompeii of a young poetess holding a stilus to her lips, like Byron in Thorwaldsen's statue in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and others mentioned by Michaelis<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere

§ 68 What, then, are the general characteristics which justify us in supposing that, in one or two of these types at all events, the sculptor intended to portray Sappho? These characteristics are, according to Bernoulli, apart from all reference to the coins, the Muse-like or poetic character, and in various instances the lips parted as if for singing, a lyre or roll held in the hand. There is moreover the celebrity and antiquity of the type. Some highly honoured woman must be meant. Portraiture is certainly intended in more than one example. Whom did the sculptor mean to portray? Is any individual woman more likely than Sappho?

### *Bronze and Terra-cotta Reliefs of Sappho*

§ 69. Before passing on to the terra-cotta reliefs and gems, one small bronze must be mentioned. It is in the British Museum,<sup>5</sup> and represents a small reclining figure with a seven-stringed lyre, wearing a chiton and himation, with right shoulder bare. The

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated by Vandergucht, see J Addison's *Sappho*

<sup>2</sup> See *Rev Arch* 1901, p 301, plates xxxi-xxvii

<sup>3</sup> Now in Sir Alfred Mond's possession

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*

<sup>5</sup> Guide to the Bronze Room, 1871, p 36, 7. It was intended as an attachment to some mirror or ornament of that sort. The date is about 480 B C. It came from S Italy. For illustration see p 188



FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF THE ALBANI BUST  
(Fifth Century B.C.)



eyes are large and the full lips slightly open with a somewhat mane smile. Whether it is intended for Sappho or some other lyrist no one can tell for certain

§ 70 Only two terra-cotta reliefs representing Sappho or supposed to represent her exist. Bernoulli calls them *zweifelhaft*. One which is in the British Museum represents a female figure sitting on the right holding a seven-stringed lyre upright with her right and a plectrum in her left hand. Opposite her is a bearded figure holding *her* lyre with his left, and in his right a nondescript object he is in a slightly stooping attitude with down cast eyes while she with a firm expression gazes at him. A single band confines her hair of which the back knot or tuft seems to be in a *sakkos*. There appear to be obvious reasons for recognizing Alcaeus and Sappho in the two figures here. He is grasping her lyre as a gesture of deprecation for the severe reproof which we seem also to perceive in the vase picture from Agrigentum.

§ 71 The other relief is or was in the possession of a sculptor at Rome. It is of Roman times. For a description see Jahn.<sup>1</sup> The figure is sitting side-face to right with an outer garment of many folds covering the lower part of her body leaving the whole upper portion to the waist bare. The head is completely covered with a cloth kerchief such as Jahn says is used by women careless about their head-dress. The left hand lets the lyre sink, the right falls down listlessly by her side the right leg being bent backwards under her as if she was going to stand upright but, from the pose of the body appears not to have the power to do so. The head is thrown back so that the face is

<sup>1</sup> Otto Jahn, *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Klass. d. Sächs.-Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1881

nearly horizontal, the eyes are closed, and the attitude one of dreamy reverie and overpowering passion. The lips are slightly open, as if for the last expiring notes of her song to issue from them—a song of which she herself and no other is the subject. One can scarcely doubt, says Jahn, that Sappho was intended. She was, or became, a type of unhappy love, as is seen in the *τάλας* vase, and a master-worker in the poet's art. He also points out the vast changes in manners, civilization, and art, that intervene between the vase picture and this presentment of her.

§ 72 There remain the six or seven gems, on only two of which is Sappho's name inscribed, the genuineness of the inscription being in both cases challenged. The best known gem is perhaps the one from the Marlborough Collection,<sup>1</sup> a cornelian with a woman's head to right incised upon it. The hair is not arranged in any of the fashions described above, but with three plaits used as a band over the forehead, a tuft showing loose ends at the back, and a tress or two falling on the nape. Behind is  $\Sigma\Lambda\Phi$ , and in front a ten-stringed lyre and a bee.<sup>2</sup> King doubts the authenticity of these adjuncts, and seems to think the spelling of the name a sign of forgery, but this by no means certain.<sup>3</sup> He considers the head to be one of Aphrodite converted. But if not Sappho, it is more likely to be a Muse than Aphrodite.

§ 73 The second inscribed stone is the one which was in the collection of the Abbé Gravelle.<sup>4</sup> On it is a lyre-playing figure, leaning against a pillar on which

<sup>1</sup> Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. cxiii, King, *Handbook of Gems*, pl. lxix, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Epigram above, § 61.

<sup>3</sup> See § 77.

<sup>4</sup> See *Recueil de pierres Gravées*, Gravelle, ii, 81, Reinach, *Pierres Grav*, pl. lxxx.



SAPPHO AND ALCAEUS  
(From terracotta relief now in the British Museum)



is incised the name ΣΑΠΦΩ. This is possibly taken from the coin of which a specimen is at Vienna with the head of Julia Procla on the obverse and Sappho on the reverse playing a lyre which is set on a pillar.

§ 74. Similar in some of its details is a gem in the British Museum<sup>1</sup>—a broken sard of the fifth century B.C.—which shows a female draped figure sitting in a chair reading from a scroll as on the Athenian hydria. In front stands a pedestal with a lyre placed upon it on which the word ΕΡΩC is lightly scratched. This is most probably a later addition. King in his *Handbook of Engraved Gems* gives a gem (paste) from a fine Greek work.<sup>2</sup> The hair is completely covered by a coil as in the early coins. A flowered circlet is slightly indicated on the forehead. The mouth is partly open. It may be Sappho or a Muse or a Sibyl.

§ 75. The two gems<sup>3</sup> depicted in Faber are not now believed to represent Sappho. They give similar heads in an oval wreath, one of laurel berries, the other of ivy. They are portraits and give a strong masculine type of face. They are carefully incised, the hair being elegantly bound with a kerchief apparently in three folds.

This completes all the evidence there is bearing upon Sappho's external appearance. Can we gather from it any real idea of what Sappho was like in look and dress?

§ 76. It must be confessed that we can form no adequate conception of her from such conflicting testimony. We cannot be sure whether she wore a

<sup>1</sup> No. 558. A second "Sappho" gem in the Br. Mus. No. 1505 is not antique. See p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Plate lxi, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Imag.* 129. Agostino, i, pl. 75. Raspe, No. 10188. Gori, *Mus. Florentinum*, 1731-66. see also Wolf's *Sappho* frontispiece, 2. Possibly Sappho appears on a gem in the *Museum Regium* (*Ephemerides*, Paris, 1716, II, 69).



kerchief over her hair, as is probable, or the ἀνάδεσμος<sup>1</sup> and the purple bands<sup>2</sup> of the sphendoné with the little *sakkos* at the back to hold up the back knot. Possibly she wore ear-rings and a necklace, and had the two little spiral curls beside the ears or a tress or two of long hair falling upon her shoulders. Her eyes were probably large and her lips full, but not weak, and her jaw firm and not somewhat retreating as in the Uffizi bust.

### *The Name Sappho*

§ 77 This may be derived from the root of σαφής and mean clear-voiced, or perhaps bright<sup>3</sup>. We find the name spelt in a great many ways. The form Sappho herself prefers is the Æolian Ψάφα, which appears in Fragment 3 put into Aphrodite's month, and in Fragn 7 into that of a friend. The spelling Ψα<π>φω is found on a Mitylenæan coin of the Antonine Period, and Ψαπφω on a Lesbian coin of Pius. The vocative is used by Sappho in Fragments 98 and 110. The early Dzialinski vase, about 480 B.C., spells the name ⊕Σ⊕ΑΟ. In all other examples the name begins with a Σ.

Σαπφώ is found in Alcaeus, *Fragment* 55, on a coin of Eresus in Commodus' time, and on the Middleton vase, *circa* 450 B.C., the Mylonas vase has ΣΑΠΦΥ (= either Σαπφώ or Σαπφούς), Σαπφο for Σαπφω is found on a gem, and on a red-figured lecythus<sup>4</sup> with the same ο for ω. Σαφφω, the modern form, is first seen on an Antonine coin of Eresus, and the Latin Saffo (or Sappho) in Porphyron ad Hor. *Sat* 11, 1, 30, *Epist* 1, 9, 38.

<sup>1</sup> See Epigram on Doricha above, § 11

<sup>2</sup> See Anth. Pal. vi, 211

<sup>3</sup> For other derivations see Wolf's *Sappho*, p. 1

<sup>4</sup> See above, § 73



FOUR GEMS SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT SAPPHO



The Athenian hydria appears to have had (for it is now illegible) ΣΑΓΓΩΣ. A coin of Mitylene given by Sestini but probably forged gives ΣΑΦΟΥ. At the foot of Fragm. 141 the Oxyr Papyrus gives ΣΑΦ<ΟΥΣ> the Munich vase ΣΑΦΟ the Michaelis vase ΣΑΟ (? ΣΑΟ) and a probably spurious coin given by Sestini ΣΑ. The Marlborough gem has ΣΑΦ

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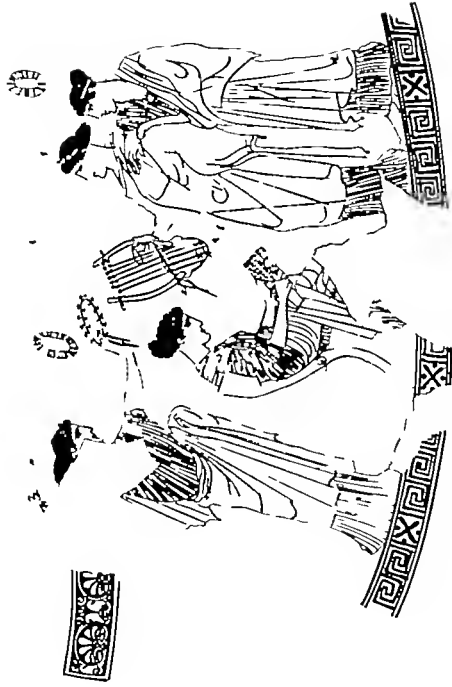
FRAGMENT OF A LIFE OF SAPPHO

From Oxy. Papyri 1800 Vol. xv p 138

*Περὶ Σαπφούς*

[Σαπφώ τὸ μὲν γένος] ἦν Α[εσβία πόλεως δὲ Μιτ]υλήνης  
 [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Σκα[μανδρανύ]μου  
 ἀδελφούς δ' εἶσχε τρεῖς [Ερ]ήνιον καὶ Λά[ριχον] πρεσβύ-  
 [τατον δὲ Χάρ]αζον οὗς πλεῦσας εἰς Αἰγυπτον] Δωρίχα τινι  
 προσο[μλη]τῆς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταυτην πλείστα τὸν δὲ  
 Λάριχον(νέον) οὗτα μᾶλλον ἠγάπησεν θυγατέρα δ' εἶσχε  
 Κλεινὸν δμῶνυμον τῇ ἑαυτῆς μητρὶ κατηγορεῖται δ' ὑπ'  
 ἐνίων ὡς ατακτος οὐ[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε[ρασ]τρία  
 τὴν δὲ μορφήν[ευ]καταφρόνητος δοκεῖ γε[γον]έναι[ι κα]ὶ δυσ-  
 εἰδεστάτη τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄψιν φαιωδης ὑπῆρχεν τὸ δὲ μέγεθος  
 μικρὰ παντελῶς τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβέβηκε καὶ περὶ τὸν  
 [ ]ν ἐλάττω [ ] γεγونا[ ] ἦν





SAPPHO HONOURED BY HER PUPILS

(From hydria in the Athens Museum Middle of Fifth Century B.C.)



## THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

### 1

See vase-painting facing this page and above  
§ 48 (5) Edmonds 1<sup>a</sup>

Θέοι ἡερίων ἐπέων ἀρχομαι ἀ[λ]λ ἀνα[ι]τίων

Or possibly ἀντίων (Edm ὀνατων)

*Words light as air I handsel here  
But blameless in the ears that hear*

### 2

Bergk 45 Edmonds 80

*Glyconic App* 18

Hermogenes iii 17 ed. Walz Όταν τὴν λυραν ἔρωτα  
ἢ Σαπφῶ καὶ όταν αὐτὴ ἀποκρίνηται καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

Ἄγε [δὴ] χέλυ δῖά μοι  
φωνάεσσα δὲ γίνεο

Eustathius *Iliad* xi 41 says Sappho uses a Homeric figure in addressing her lyre The exact reading of the lines is uncertain

Hermogenes *When Sappho questions her lyre and it answers and the sequel* —

To her Lyre

*Come now O Lyre of mine  
Lift up thy voice divine!*



## 3

Bergk, 1, Edm 1

*Sapphica, App* 16

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Compos* 23, quotes this poem in full as an instance of the smooth and ornate style (γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις)

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα,  
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,  
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,  
πότνια, θύμον·

5 ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἶ ποτα κατέρωτα  
τᾶς ἕμας αὖδως ἀτοῖσα πῆλιν  
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα  
χρῦσιον ἦλθες

10 ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα, κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον  
ὥκεες στρουῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας  
πύκνα δίννευτες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνῳ αἴθερ-  
ος διὰ μέσσω,

αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα,  
μειδιάσαις' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ  
15 ἦρε', ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι  
δηῦτε κάλημι,

κῶττ' ἔμῳ μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι  
μαινόλα θύμῳ “ τίνα δηῦτε Πείθω

Ἀνθηρά lit flowery, yet not in our sense, but “ with all the colour and delicate associations of a flower ”

1 v1 ποικιλόφρον' Pliny, *NH* 36, 6, tells us that marble with spots of many colours was found in Lesbos

10 στρουῦθοι see Athen 1x, 391 C, περὶ γᾶς μ cf Ox Pap 1231, 9

11 Or ὀρράνῳ

15 MS δ' ἦν το P

18 Or πείθωμαι σ'

μαῖσ' αἴνῃ ἐς σὺν φιλότατα τίς σ' ὦ  
20 Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει

καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει τάχως διώξει  
αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ' ἀλλὰ δώσει  
αἱ δὲ μὴ φίλει τάχως φίλησει  
κωκυθ' ἐθέλοισα

25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν χαλάρῃ δὲ λῦσον  
ἐκ μερίμνῃν ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεισσι  
θῦμος ἱμέρρει τέλεισιν οὐδ' αὐτὰ  
σύμμαχος ἔσσο

21 Cf. Theocr. 6 17

24 Not ἰθὺλαίω as Welcker

27 Cf. Ovid. *Heroid.* xv 57

Except 71 (?) the only complete poem which we have of Sappho's. It probably stood first in the Alexandrian edition of her works in nine books according to metres.

### *A Prayer to Aphrodite*

Immortal Cypris of the marbled throne  
Daughter of Zeus for all wiles are thine own  
Crush not my soul O Lady Queen  
with care and teen

5 But hither come if Thou in days gone by  
Didst ever leave thy Father's home on high  
Deigning from far my prayers to hear  
with listening ear

And camest in thy golden car that straight  
10 Thy dainty sparrows down from Heaven's gate  
With quick wings winnowing the air  
o'er dark Earth bare

1 But see Willamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* p. 44

10 Horace *Od.* iii 28 14 gives Venus a team of swans; and swans draw Apollo's chariot in 108.

And, lo ! were here , and Thou, O Lady Blest,  
 Thy lovely face in smiles immortal drest,  
 15 Didst ask what ills assailed me ? Why  
                   this wistful cry ?

For what new boon with frenzied soul I prayed  
 Above all else , and " Who ", saidst thou, " the maid  
           Whose love you fain would win ? Who so works  
 20 Sappho woe ?

If now she spurns, she soon shall seek your side,  
 If gifts she scorns, to give shall be her pride,  
       If she kiss not, she soon shall kiss,  
           coy though she is "

25 Come, Queen, now also, and thy suppliant save  
 From carking cares All that my heart would crave  
       Bring thou to pass, and be my friend  
           still to the end

## 4

Bergk, 2 , Edm 2

*Sapphic, App* 16

This famous lyric preserved for us by the so-called Longinus in his treatise *On the Sublime* (§ 10), scarcely to be matched for its exquisite art and intense passion, has in respect to its subjective meaning met with the most divergent interpretations. Passionate love for a girl is certainly portrayed, but though the writer speaks in the first person, she may surely be depicting passion as a poet, not as a woman, and in any case the rival here is a man, and no definite individual either, as *ὄττις* shows. There is no real reason to suppose that Anactoria is alluded to. The same difficult problem confronts us in the

case of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* Are they masterpieces of pure objective imagination or hot with real personal feeling? Catullus as a lyrist the nearest Roman rival to Sappho has translated this poem.<sup>1</sup> This lyric is quoted or imitated among others by Plato Theocritus Lucretius Plutarch Lucian Horace and Tennyson

See Wilamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* pp 56 ff He seems to think that it is a wedding poem.

Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἰσος θάλοισιν  
ἔμμεν ὠνῆρ ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι  
ἕξάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδυ φωναί  
σας ὑπακούει

5 καὶ γελαίσας ἱμέροεν τό μοι μὲν  
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν  
ὡς γὰρ [ες] σ ἰδὼ βροχέως με φωνας  
οὔδεν ἔτ ἱκεῖ

ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλαῦσσα φέαγε λέπτον δ  
10 αὐτικά χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν  
διππάτεσσι δ οὔδεν ὀρημ ἐπιρρόμ  
βεισι δ ἀκουαί

ἀ δέ μ Ἰδρωσ κακχέεται τρόμος δέ  
παῖσαν ἄγρει χλωροτέρα δέ ποίας  
15 ἐμμι τεθνῆκην δ ὀλίγω πιθεύην  
φαίνομαι [ ]

ἀλλὰ πᾶν τόλματον ἐπεὶ [καί] πένητα

1 Another fragment, quoted by Apoll., *de Pronom* 366 A, begins very similarly φαίνεται μοι κῆνος (Bergk, 111 = Edm. 26)

2 Cf 40, below

7 For βροχέως MS. Edm. reads *Βρόχου* or *Βρόχου*, voc. of *Βροχίω* = *Βραχίω* (to correspond to the name Lesbia in Catullus transl.) followed by *ως* Lobel, βρόχε *ὡς* με φωνάω

11 Cf Archil. 103

16 For ἄλλα (= frenzied) Hermann reads *Α θ*; Paton and Wilam. Ἀγαλλί.

*To a beloved girl*

Like to the Gods I deem him blest,  
 Who face to face with thee, thy guest,  
     Sits welcome with ears rapt to hear  
     thy voice so sweet, so near,

5 Thy lovely laugh that sight doth make  
 The heart within my bosom shake !  
     When I but glance at thee, no word  
     from my dumb lips is heard,

My tongue is tied, a subtle flame  
 10 Leaps in a moment o'er my frame,  
     I see not with mine eyes, my ear  
     can only murmurs hear,

Sweat dewes my brow, quick tremors pass  
 Through every limb, more wan than grass  
 15 I blanch, and frenzied, nigh to death,  
     *I gasp away my breath*

[But be his fortune e'er so ill  
 The poor man must endure it still ]

*Catullus to his Lesbia*

The peer of any God I deem that guest,  
 Nay e'en, if that may be, than Gods more blest,  
     Who sitting face to face with thee  
     Can hear at once and see

5 Thee sweetly smiling which, but seen, doth daze,  
 Ah me ! my every sense , for while I gaze  
     Lesbia, on thee, no more *a word*  
     *From my dumb lips is heard,*

- My tongue is palsied and a subtle flame  
 10 Runs deeply down into my very frame  
       Sounds ring within mine ears my sight  
       Is sealed with double night.

## 5

Ox. Pap 1231 15, Edm 45 Lobel, 11 He begins  
 with Ox. Pap 1231, 13

*Sapphic App* 16

Gongyla to whom apparently these mutilated stanzas  
 are addressed came from Colophon and was one of  
 Sappho's pupils.

- [Σὺν τύχῃ σπεύσων] κέλομαι σ[ε]  
 [Γόγ]γυλα [     ]νθι λάβοισα μέ[νδυν]  
 [γλα]κτίαν σέ δηῦτε πόθος τ[ις] ἄμος  
       ἀμφιπόταται  
 5 τὰν κάλαν α γὰρ κατάγωγος αὐτὰ  
       ἐπτόαισ ἴδοισαν ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω  
       καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ δὴ π[οτ] ἐμεμ[φόμεν] τὰν  
       Κυπρογέν[η]αν  
       [τ]ᾶς ἀραμα[ι]  
 10 τοῦτο τῶ  
       [β]όλλομα[ι]

2 Wilam. Edm. βρόδανθι μέδων is very uncertain.

3 γλακτ Wilam Lobel πτόαισ δε.

4 Hor., Od. i, 2, 34 Q Smyrn. 5 71

7 Possibly τόν Diehl reads τ γε μέμφεται σοι Κυπρογένη.

*I bid thee hither come and God thee bless  
 Sweet Gongyla put on thy milk white dress  
       For round thee, lovely as thou art  
       Flits the sweet longing of my heart*

- 5 It thrills me through thy very robe to see  
 Afar and I rejoice that this should be

For I too dared once in the past  
 Blame on the Cyprus-born to cast  
 [But may she pardon me my fault and deign  
 To give thee to my longing back again ]

## 6

*Berlin. Klass-Texte*, P 9722, 5, *Edm* 86, *Wilam*,  
*S u S*, p 53 f

*Glyconic, Aph* 18, 23, 32

The opening words of this beautiful lyric are lost, and we do not know to which member of Sappho's circle it is addressed. The Atthis, spoken of in line 17, is mentioned by Suidas as one of Sappho's *ἐταῖραι καὶ φίλαι*, and is compared by Maximus Tyrius (xliv, 9) with Charmidas, as holding a similar place in the affections of Socrates. She seems, however (see *Fragm* 19), to have deserted Sappho for a rival teacher, Andromeda, though Sappho had known her from childhood. Ovid (*Heroid*, xv, 18) couples her name with those of Anactone and Cydro (or Cydno). Wilamowitz, followed by Diehl, introduces the name Arignota in line 5. But there is no further record of her.

[Γογγύλα μάκραν, \*Ατθι, φίλων ἄνεν]  
 [ναιέτας ἐνὶ] Σάρδ[εσιν]  
 [οἰκεῖ, πόλ]λακι τυίδε [ν]ῶν ἔχοισα  
 ὥς πο[τ' ἐ]ζώμεν β[ίον, ἀ]ς ἔχεν  
 5 σὲ θεᾶ Φικέλαν ἄρι—  
 γνώτα σᾶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαιρε μόλπα  
 νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναι-  
 κεσσιν, ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω  
 δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα

4 βίον δς, *Edm*. The whole line is very doubtful. MS has colon before β. Schubart reads βεβάως, Diehl and Wilamowitz Ἀριγνώτα.  
 9 σελ. Schubart for μήνα MS.

- 10 πάντα περρέχοις ἄστρο φάος δ' ἐπὶ  
 σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' αλμύραν  
 ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις αρούραις  
 ἃ δ' ἔρσα κάλα κέχυται τεθῶ  
 λαίοι δὲ βρόδα κᾶπαλ αν-  
 15 θρυσκα καὶ μελλιωτος ανθεμωδης  
 πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισ ἀγνάσ ἐπι  
 μνάσθεις Ατθιδος ἡμέραι  
 λήπτων ποι φρένα κῆρ ἄσφ βόρηται  
 κῆθι δ' ἔλθην ἄμμι ὄξυ βοῶ τὰ δ' οὐ  
 20 νῶν γ' ἄπυστα νυξ πολυας  
 γαρύει[ι δι'] ἄλον πα

On the verso of this MS says Edmonds is an un-  
 mutilated but in its present condition indecipherable  
 poem of twenty lines

18 ζαφ. nom. pend. or if 3rd pers. sing δ must be added after  
 κῆρ However ζαφοίταισ may be part of subject, of βόρηται if  
 φρένα and κῆρ are both acc. of respect. Edm. reads κῆρ.

20 Or νῶν = ὄντα (νόημι) Schubert.

21 For additional fragments of this poem see below p 226

*O Atthis from her friends away*

*In Sardis dwells our Gongyla*

*Far off. But oft her thoughts recall*

*How erst we lived when in her eyes*

5 *A glorious goddess thou didst rise*

*And thy sweet songs were all in all.*

*But now with Lydian ladies met*

*She shines as when the sun is set*

*The moon with rosy fingers spread*

10 *Mid circling stars while o'er the sea's*

*Salt foam and flower-enamelled leas*

*Alike her lustrous light is shed*



- And, while the fair dew falls, upgrows  
 The delicate anthrýsk with the rose  
 15 And clover's honey-scented bloom.  
 And often, going on her way,  
 Her thoughts to gentle Atthis stray,  
 And longing weighs her heart with gloom  
 " Oh, come ! " she cries, nor all in vain  
 20 For the all-hearing Night again  
 Whispers the word across the main.

## 7

*Berlin Klass -Texte*, P 9722, 2 , Edm 83 ; Wilam.  
 S u S , p 49  
*Glyconic*, *Apf* 18, 34

- [Nûn ἄρ' Ἀτθίς ἀποιχεται,  
 τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω  
 ἄ με ψισδομένα κατελίππανε  
 πόλλα, καὶ τοδ' ἔειπ[έ μοι]  
 5 " ὦμι' ὥς δεῖνα πεπόνθαμεν  
 Ψάπφ', ἧ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιππάνω " ]  
 τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν  
 " χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν  
 μέμναισ' οἴσθα γὰρ ὥς σε πεδήπομεν  
 10 αἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω  
 ὄμναισαι, σ[ὺ δὲ λάθ]εαι,  
 ὄσ[σα μάλθακα] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν  
 πό[λλα δ' ὥς στεφάν]οις ἱών  
 καὶ βρ[όδων πλο]κίων τ' ὕμοι  
 15 [καί[ριων] παρ' ἔμοι παρεθήκαο,

9 MS μέμναισθ'

10 μὴ coalesces with ἀ of ἀλλά, cf 8<sub>11</sub>

12 Wilamowitz

καὶ π[όλλαις ὑπα]θυμδας  
 πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ'] ἀπάλα δέρα  
 ἀνθέων ἐ[ράτων] πεποιημέναις

καὶ πόλλω [λιπάρως] μύρω  
 20 βρενθείω βασιληΐω  
 ἐξαλείψω κα[λλέκομον] κάρα]

καὶ στρωμν[αν] ἐ[πι] μολθακαν  
 ἀπάλαν πα[ ]α ονων  
 ἐξίης πόθο[ ] νιδων

25 κωυτε τις [ ]τε τι  
 ἱρον ουδ ὑ [ ]  
 ἐπλετ ὅππ[ ]μες ἀπέσκομεν  
 οὐκ ἄλσος [ ] αρος

19 Blau. The MS has μέρα.

21 Blau. But the new Fragm. (Lobel, p. 79) puts βασιλ. in this line.

22-28 Additions from Ox. Pap xvi (Lobel, p. 79) Also πέφορ at end of l. 29 and οιδαι at end of l. 30

*Our Atthis then afar is sped*

And I in sooth would fain be dead

She as she went was weeping still

And thus said sobbing in my ear

5 How sad our lot O Sappho dear

Ah but I go against my will!

And her I answered thus again

Good luck go with thee but remain

Mindful of me whose only care

10 Thou wast or else if thou forget

I may not but remind thee yet

How sweet a life was ours how fair!

When many a wreath of violet

And rose in timely garlands set

15 Thou twinedst, sitting at my side

And many a chain of lovely flowers  
Wrought by our hands *in idle hours*  
About thy tender neck we tied ,

And thou didst smooth *thy glossy hair*  
20 With many an unguent royal-rare  
That sweetly breathed a scent divine ,

And as on cushions soft *we lay*  
Thy longing thou didst put away  
. . . . .

## 8

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 38

*Sapphic, Aph 16.*

We cannot tell to whom this ode was addressed, unless in line 15 we read Ἀνακτορία, but it was some member of Sappho's circle no doubt

οἱ μὲν ἱππήων στρότον οἱ δὲ πῆσδων  
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν  
ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-  
τω τις ἔραται

5 [πά]γχνυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι  
[π]άντι τοῦτ' ἄ γὰρ πόλυ περσκ[όπ]εισα  
[κάλ]λος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα τὸν ἄνδρα  
[κρί]ννε κάλ]ιστον,

[ὅς τὸ πᾶν] σέβας Τροῖα[ς ὃ]λεσσε  
10 [κωὺδὲ π]αῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκῆων  
[οὐδὲν] ἐμνάσθη, [ἀλλὰ] παρά[γα]γ' αὐταν  
[φαῦλα φίλει]σαν

2 Cf 110, Ox Pap 1231, 9<sub>0</sub> Here we should expect γᾶς

4 = Bergk 13, from Apoll, *Synt* 291

8 Lobel suggests πρῶλιπε

- [Κύπρις εὐκ]αμπτον γὰρ [ἀεὶ τὸ θηλυ]  
 [αἶ κε]τις κούφως τ[ὸ πάρον] νοήσῃ  
 15 [ἀλλ]ὰ νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας τὸ μέ]μναισ  
 [οὔ] παρεόλας  
 [τᾷ]ς κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα  
 καμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσωπων  
 ἥ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κᾶν ὄπλοισι  
 20 [πρεδομ]άχοντας  
 [εὖ μὲν ἴδ]μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι  
 [πάντ] ἐν ἀνθρωποις πεδέχην δ' ἀρᾶσθαι  
 [εστιν αἵπερ οἱ μάκαρες θέλοισιν]  
 [ὄμμων ἀρήγην]

This poem is followed in the MS by a single stanza of which only the words τ' ἐξ ἑδοκίτῳ remain. This may be part of the above poem or a single stanza poem.

13 *del κ.τ.λ. Edm.*

15 Or τῆς for ἀλλᾶ. Lobel reads [δ]έμναισ

20 So Rackham *Ed κ.τ.λ. Wllam.*

21 Cf. Ox. Pap 1291 2. *Ε μὲν ἴδ* Wllam. Lobel says not *ἴδ*

Some think a gallant navy on the sea,  
 And some a host of foot or horse to be  
 Earth's fairest thing but I declare  
 the one we love more fair

- 5 Right easy is the proof that all may know  
 How true my saying is for Helen though  
 Much mortal beauty she might scan  
*judged him* the fairest man

- Who in the dust Troy's majesty defiled  
 10 Nor rather of her parents dear and child  
 Had thought but Cyprus-led astray  
 cherished an ill love's way

For nowise hard is *woman's will* to sway  
 If from home thoughts she lightly turn away

15 So now far Anactoria be  
                   in memory nigh to thee !

Whose sweet foot-fall I would more gladly hear,  
 And the bright glory of her face see near,

                  Than Lydian chariots in the field  
 20                   and foot with spear and shield

Full well we know that mortals may not fare  
 In all things well albeit to crave a share

                  In what is well *is not denied*,  
                   *if Heaven be on our side*

19 Anactoria, it seems, was in Lydia

## 9

Ox Pap 7, Edm 36, Weir Smyth, *Lyric Poets*,  
 p 35 See Plate 14

*Sapphic, App* 16

One stanza lost

[Πότνια] Νηρήιδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]

[τὸν κασί]γνητον δότε τυίδ' ἔκεσθαι,

[κῶσσα τῶ] θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι

[πάντα τε]λέσθην,

5 [ὅσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα λῦσαι,

[καὶ φίλοι]σι Φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι

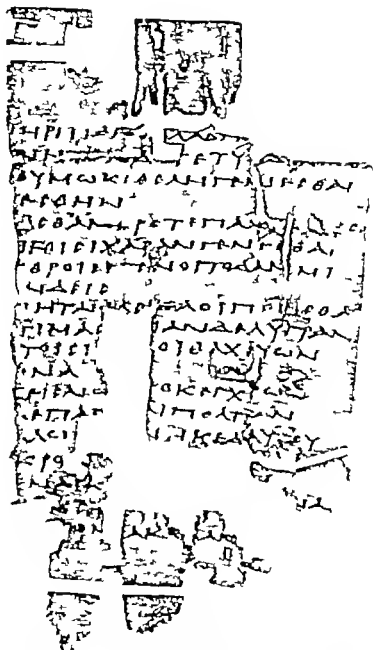
[κῶδύναν ἔ]χθροισι γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι

[μήποτα μ]ήδεις

1 Other suggestions are ὦ φίλαι, Κύπρι καὶ Cf Hor, *Od* iii, 1

3 *F*ω Edm

8 Sc ἔχθρος, but this is scarcely satisfactory Edmonds reads  
 δύσκλεα = δύσκλεια



THE NEREID ODE FROM A THIRD CENTURY PAPYRUS  
(Now in the British Museum)



- [τὰν κασι]γνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόθησθαι  
 10 [ἔμμορον] τίμας [ὄν]ϊαν δὲ λύγραν  
 [καὶ λόγοις] ὅτοισι [πάρ]οιθ' ἀχέων  
 [κᾶμον ἐδᾶ]μνα  
 [κῆρ ὀνειδισ]μ εἰσαΐων τό κ' ἐν χρῶ  
 [κέρρεν ἀλλ'] ἐπ' ἀγ[λαί]α πολίταν  
 15 [ἐκλάθεσθ' αἶ]λλως [ὅτα]νῇ κε δαῦτ' οὐ-  
 [δεν διὰ μάκρω]

ον αἰ κ[ε ] σι  
 ρην σὺ[δε] λύγρ [ε]ρε[μ]να  
 θεμένα κάκαν  
 η

20

10 *δμρ.* Jurenka WBlam.11 *λόγοις* = *λόγοις* Edm.13 *Cf. Ovid, Heroid.* xv 6714 *κέρρεν* Blam.15 Or *ἄλλ* *ως* Rest of line as Edmonds. The reading throughout the stanza is very doubtful.17-20 All this is extremely doubtful. *λέγρ* is Blass's suggestion.

Charaxus Sappho's eldest brother had bought and married at Naucratis in Egypt a beautiful slave courtesan named Doricha. Herodotus who calls her Rhodōpis Rosycheeks tells us (ii 135) that Sappho scolded him (or her *ἐκερτόμησέ μιν* see also Athen xiii 596 B Compare Ovid *Heroid* 63 and 117)

O *σοῦραν* Nereids grant me this I pray  
 To bring my brother safe upon his way  
 And whatsoe'er his heart hath willed  
 be all fulfilled!

- 5 For that wherein he faulted make amends  
 Grant him to be a joy to all his friends



To foes a bane, but none be thus  
a harm to us !

And may he to his sister gladly bring  
10 *A share* in honour , but that bitter sting,  
The *words* he spoke in angry part  
and broke my heart

(Hearing that song of mine that touched him near)  
—Yet grant that in the city's welcome here  
15 *He may forget all that*, when home  
he soon shall come

The succeeding stanza appears to be an appeal to  
Cypris to put away his evil shame and be reconciled to  
his family at Mitylene, but its meaning is far from  
certain

## 10

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 37

*Sapphic, Apb* 16

A poem of three stanzas, of which the first two are  
entirely lost except for the ends of the first, the second,  
third, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines viz *α μάκαιρα* ·  
*υπλοῦ* ατος και ἄμβροτε κη ιε νοσαλ . . .

Two stanzas

*Κύπρι, καί σε πι[κροτέρ]αν ἔπειρε·*  
*[οἶ] δὲ καυχάσαντο τόδ' ἐννέποντες*  
*[Δω]ρίχα τὸ δεύτερον ὥς πόθε[ννον]*  
*[εἰς] ἔρον ἦλθε*

This poem is followed in the MS by 8 (above), without  
the *coronis* Lobel would read *ἐπεύροι, μηδὲ καυχάσαιτο*  
*ἐννέποισα*

There is in this poem, apparently, a taunting allusion to

Doricha being transferred from the position of mistress of Xanthes the Samian to that of wedded wife of Charaxus. We may suppose evil minded persons at Naucratis to be speaking —

Cypris and thee *more bitter* did he find  
While they with boasting spake their scornful mind  
A second love how much to be desired  
has Doricha acquired !

1 Le Charaxus.

## 11

*Berl Klass Texte* 5 P 5006 verso Edm. 35  
*Bergk Adesp* 56 A but he inclines to ascribe the poem to Alcaeus

*Sapphic App* 16

Ox. Pap 424. The position of lines 13 ff was identified by Lobel.

Apparently to an unnamed friend who has deserted Sappho for persons of greater consequence Of the first stanza only the last word *δωσῆν* remains

One stanza at least is lost

- 5 [καὶ κ]λυτὰν μὲν τ ἐπ[        ]  
[κωὺ κά]λων κᾶσλων [λόγον ουδεν εἶπων]  
[τοῖς φί]οις λύπης τέ [με σὸν κατέσταῖς]  
[τωνο]μ ὄνειδος  
πρὸς ταῦ οἰδήσαις ἐπῖτα[δες ἔχθραν]  
10 [καρδ]ίαν ᾄσαιο τὸ γὰρ ν[όημα]  
[τῷ]μον οὐκ οὕτω μ[αλάκως πρὸς ὄργαν]  
[σάν] διάκηται

5 Edm. but the restoration of the whole poem is doubtful

6 After *ἐνδον* the MS. has a doubtful ε possibly *ἔως* might be read. *καὶ* Edm.

10 καρδ. and νόμα, Blau.

11 Blau and Bücheler

- [ἀλλὰ] μὴ δόαζε  
 15 χις συνίημι  
 ης κακότατος  
 μιν  
 ν ἀτέραις με  
 φρένας εὖ  
 ατοῖς μακαρ

The verses are so mutilated that we cannot put any confidence in the restoration of them, nor, consequently, in the translation

- 5 To great ones only *have thy footsteps flown*  
 Not to the good and true , *thou giv'st thy own*  
*No word*, and woundest me with shame,  
 Cast by thee on an honoured name

- Swoll'n so big, go on, feed fat thy pride,  
 10 Let hatred fill thy heart Yet I abide  
 Unshaken with a soul too strong  
 Not to resent thine anger's wrong

For the possible train of thought in the following stanzas, see Edmonds 35

*Doubt not bethink thee in thy better soul*  
*And turn to fairer ways , for self-control*  
*And gentleness, not hate or pride,*  
*Can win the Blest Ones to our side*

Athenaeus  $\kappa\nu$  674 D Παράγγελλαι ἡ Σαπφῶ στεφάνοισθαι τοὺς θύοντας ὡς εὐανθέστερον καὶ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τοῖς θεοῖς

To the four lines of this poem which was probably in couplets already preserved by Athenaeus a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus adds from the two previous couplets ἀπυθεσθ towards the end of line 2 τάχιστα λ from line 3 and two letters μπ in the line following

5 Σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις ὦ Δίκα πέρθεσθ' ἐράταις φόβαισι  
ὄρπακας ἀνῆτω συναέρραισ ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν

εὐάνθεα [μὲν] γὰρ πέλεται καὶ χάριτος Μῆκαίραν  
μᾶλλον προτέρην ἀστεφαινῶτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται

6 Grenfell and Hunt for συνέρραισ — Herm. συνεύραισ Others read ἀνῆτοια.

7 πέλεται = it befalls Χαρ' ἔστω = have precedence in grace.

Athenaeus Sappho enjoins those who offer sacrifice to garland their heads on the ground that what is more adorned with flowers is the more pleasing to the gods.

The Dika who is addressed is supposed to be the same as Mnasiidika a pupil of Sappho's

On thy lovely tresses Dika, garlands bind  
Shoots of dill with tender hands together twined  
High stand flower wearers in the Blest Ones grace  
But from heads ungarlanded they turn their face

## 13

Bergk 86 Edm. 121

Alcaic App 21

Maximus Tyrius 24 9 Νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ ταύταις (Gorgo and Andromeda) ἡ Σαπφῶ νῦν δὲ ἐλέγχει καὶ εἰρωνεύεται

αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τῷ Σωκράτους (e g τὸν Ἴωνα χαίρειν Plato, *Ion*, 510 A)

πόλλα μὲν τὰν  
πωλυανάκτιδα παῖδα χαίρειν

2 Adj not patronymic as τὰν shows Edm

Maximus Tyrius At one time Sappho reproaches Gorgo and Andromeda, at another confutes them and employs against them the very same irony as Socrates (e g when he wishes Ion farewell).

*To Gorgo or Andromeda*  
A very good day from me,  
O many-king'd child, to thee !

1 I borrow the phrase from Mr Edmonds

## 14

Bergk, 58, Edm 125  
*Hendecasyllabic*, *Apb* 23

Ἐχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κάλαν ἀμοιβαν  
Andromeda hath now a goodly recompense

## 15

Bergk, 70, Edm 98  
*Choriambic* (?), *Apb* 24

Athen 1, 21 C, Σαπφῶ περὶ Ἀνδρομέδας σκώπτει · Max Tyr 24, 9 Κωμῳδεῖ (Σωκράτης) σχῆμά που καὶ κατὰ κλισιν σοφιστοῦ, καὶ αὕτη (Σαπφῶ) See also Eustath, *Od* xxii, 770

Τίς δέ σ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἐπεμμένα σπόλαν  
θέλγει τ(οι) ἀγροῖωτις [ἔρω νόον γύνα],  
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων ,

1, 2 The reading and scansion are quite uncertain

Athenaeus Sappho girds at Andromeda. Max Tyrius  
Socrates makes fun of a certain Sophist's appearance and  
dress—so Sappho too —

What wench in rustic garments dight  
*Ensnares thy soul with new delight*  
That knows not how with dauntiness  
About her feet to draw her dress?

## 16

Ox. Pap 1787 34 Bergk 76 5 Edm 115

*Ionic App* 30

Mnasidika perhaps the same as Dika (see 12) and  
Gyrinno were Sappho's friends and companions. Max  
Tyrius comparing Gyrinno (Gyrinna) and Atthis and  
Anactoria to the friends of Socrates sets Gyrinno first  
as a parallel to Alcibiades the chief favourite of Socrates.

Besides the single line preserved for us by Hephaestion  
(69) a new papyrus fragment gives us the opening letters  
of the four previous lines viz. καίτ' εἰ μῆδεν νῦν  
δ' αὖ μῆ βόλλεο

*Εὐμορφότερα Μνασιδίκη τῆς ἀπάλλας Γυρίνως*

Some MSS of Ovid *Heroid* xv 15 have nec mihi  
Pyrrino subeunt Mnasive puella. Choeroboscus (Cornuc  
Aldi 268 B) has Μνάιδος καὶ Πυρρινῶς

Though delicately-soft Gyrinno be  
Yet is Mnasidika more fair than she

## 17

Bergk 48 Edm 53

*Dactylic App* 34.

*μάλα δὲ κεκορημένοις*

*Γόργως*

Of their dear Gorgo now  
They've had their fill I trow

## 18

Bergk, 33, Edm 48

"*Sapphic*," *App* 34

Hephaestion, 45 The fourteen syllable Sapphic, of which consisted the whole of Sappho's second book

Ἡράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἄτθι, πάλαι ποτά,  
(floreā virginitas mea cum foret)

σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις.

1 Cf Ovid, *Heroid*, xv, 18

2 Terent Maurus, 215, 4 See on this Plut *Amat* 5

Long since I loved thee, at what time  
I too was in my girlhood's prime :  
A little child thou seemedst then,  
Atthis, nor marriage-ripe for men.

## 19\*

Bergk, 41, Edm 81

*Dactylic Aeolic Tetrameter*, *App* 34

Ἄτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο  
φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότῃ.

Edm, perhaps rightly, makes this fragment follow 46  
I put dots before the first line to show that it is not the beginning of the poem

At this, all thought of me thou now dost hate,  
And hoverest ever at Andromeda's gate

## 20\*

Bergk, 71, Edm 73

*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad)*, *App* 26

Ἡρῶν ἐξεδίδαξ' ἐκ Γυάρων τὰν ἀννόδρομον

MS ἐξεδίδαξε γυάρων Gyara or Gyaros, a barren island near Ceos In *Anth Pal* vi, 207, we find αἱ γυάλων *Ναυκράτιδος* ναέται, and Hermann wished to read





Where so much is fragmentary and uncertain it is scarcely possible to get any connected sense out of the words that are preserved of this poem. The name Gongyla (for which see 5 above) is happily legible. If  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu(\alpha)$  is read correctly in line 7 (but the letters may be read  $\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu$ ), we have to do with some sign given, perhaps by Hermes, whose name occurs again in 140a. We can find some slight indication of the drift of the poem in ll 10-14, where the speaker, perhaps addressing Hermes, swears by the Blessed One (? Aphrodite, cf 3<sup>13</sup>) that she no longer likes to be uplifted by prosperity, but would gladly die and go

## 22a, b

Bergk, 77, Edm 116. O $\lambda$  Pap 1787 44 = P Halle 2  
*Ionian* or *Choriambic*, *Aph* 30

Hephaestion 69 quotes this line after 16.

(a) Ἀσσαροτέρας οὐδάμα πω, Εἵρανα, σέθεν τύχοισαν

A fragment found at Oxyrhynchus, which begins with the word *τύχοισα* at the end of a line, has been supposed to give the continuation of this passage, though lines 2-6, as Grenfell and Hunt point out, read like the invocation to a deity

(b)

	τύχοισα
	θέλ' ὦν τὰ παῖσαν
	[τε]λεσον νόημα
	ετων κάλημι
5	πεδὰ θῦμον αἶψα
	ὅσσα τύχην θελήσῃ[s]
	[πα]ρ' ἔμοι μάχεσθαι
	χλιδάνα 'πίθεισα

1 Edm reads Εἵρανα ἐπι      τύχοισα Bergk

2 Or τ' ἀπαῖσαν

3 MS νόημα

10

ι σὺ δ' εὖ γὰρ οἶσθα  
 ἔτει τα ἱλλε  
 ελασ

(Σαπ[φους]  
 με[λῶν] δ')

These last words (Ox Pap 1787 45) may belong here.

9 For γὰρ Vitelli sees πρὸ in his MS

(a) Never Laranna did I see  
 A bore to be compared with thee

(b) This fragment part of the Oxyrhynchus papyri was evidently abstracted from the rest of the find and conveyed to Germany where it now is. But no connected sense can be extracted out of its mutilated lines. What faint glimpses we get of the meaning recall the Invocation to Aphrodite (*Fragm* 3) If the subscription belonged here and is rightly transcribed this poem came from Sappho's fourth book Hephaestion tells us that (a) was an instance of the Aeolic tetrameter or *Ionic a maiore* with full conclusion consisting of three ionics and a trochaic dipody

## 23

Bergk 69 Edm 72

*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App* 26

Οὐδ' ἴαν δοκίμῳ προσίδουσιν φάος ἄλλῳ  
 ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς οὐδενὸ πω χρόνον  
 τοιαύταν

2 πρὸ MS. Possibly for πρὸ see Lobel, p. xxi and *Fragm*. 24

I deem that of all maids that see the sun  
 As skilled in song as thou shall ne'er be one

2 σοφός is often used of artistic skill.

## 24

Bergk, 68 , Edm 71

*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), Aḡḡ 26*

Plutarch, *Præc Coniug*, 48 , *Symp* 1v, 1, 2 ; and  
Stobæus *Floril*, 1v, 12 *Πρὸς τινα πλουσίαν καὶ ἀπαίδευ-*  
*τον γυναῖκα*

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσεαι, οὐδ' ἔτι τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν  
ἔσσειτ' οὐδέποτ' [εἰς] ὕστερον · οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις βρόδων  
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κῆν Ἀῖδα δόμοις  
φοιτάσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα

3 δόμω Fick see Lobel, p 1111

Plutarch · Sappho to a rich uneducated woman —

Dying, thou shalt die for ever,  
None shall e'er remember thee ,  
For in life thou pluckest never  
Roses from Pieria's tree

But within dark Hades' portals  
Thou shalt surely be unknown,  
Flitting with the Shades of mortals  
As inglorious as thine own

Gerstenhauer takes ἐκπεποτ to mean "bereft of life"  
or "sense", which is perhaps more accurate Cf  
Theocr 11, 19 , xi, 7

## 25

Bergk, 10<sup>n</sup> , Edm 11

*Prose paraphrase*

Aristides, 11, 508 *Σαπφὼ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων εἶναι*  
*δοκουσῶν γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένη καὶ λέγουσα,*

ὥς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῷ ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ  
ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ὥς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης  
ἔσται λήθη

Cf Plut *Praec Coniug* 48 ἡ Σαπφώ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι καλλιγραφίαν ἐφρόνει τηλικούτον ὥστε γράψαι

Aristides Sappho to certain women reputed well to-do said boastingly —

To me the Muses truly gave  
An envied and a happy lot  
E'en when I lie within the grave  
I cannot shall not be forgot

## 26

Bergk, 29 Edm 120

*Alcaic?* *Aprr* 21

Athenaeus *xiii* 564 Πρὸς τὸν υπερβαλλόντως θαυμάζομενον τὴν μορφήν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον

Στάθ' [ἐμφάνης μοι] κᾶτα φίλος [φίλου]  
καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὅσοις ὀμπέτασον χάριν

Athenaeus To a man excessively admired for his appearance and reckoned to be a beauty

Stand *fair before me* friend and face to face  
And in thine eyes unveil the hidden grace.

## 27

(1) Bergk Alcaeus 55

*Sapphic with anacrusis* *Aprr* 20

(2) Bergk 28 Edm 119

*Alcaic* *Aprr* 20

Alcaeus to Sappho The first line is from Hephaestion 80 and the second from Aristotle *Rhet* 1 9 The metre is Sapphic with anacrusis —

(1) *Ιόπλοκ* ἀγὰρ μελλιχόμεϊδε Σάπφοι  
θέλω τ' εἶπην ἀλλὰ με κωλῶει αἰδῶς

Sappho's answer —

Αἰ δ' ἦχες ἔσλων ἡμερον ἦ κάλων,  
καὶ μήτι τ' εἶπην γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον,  
αἶδως κέ σ' οὐ [κάτ]ηχεν ὅππατ',  
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῷ δικαίως

2 Anna Comnena, *Alex*, xv, 486, attributes this last half line to Sappho Stephanus (Cramer *Anecd* Paris, i, 266) says the *dialogue* is by Sappho

3 Melhorn for MS εἶχεν

Headlam (JHS, vol. xlii, 1902) says: "If a woman desired while uttering a reproof in words to acknowledge and refuse a compliment, would she use her own metre or his?"

Alcaeus to Sappho —

Pure gently-smiling Sappho, violet-crowned,  
Fain would I speak, but shame my lips hath bound

Sappho to Alcaeus —

If noble words and fair had been thy will,  
Nor had thy tongue therewith been mingling ill,  
Shame had not veiled thy faltering eyes,  
And thou hadst spok'n in honest wise

1 Or violet-weaving

## 28

Bergk, 75, Edm 99

*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad)*, *Apf* 26

Ἄλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμιν λέχος ἄρνυσο νεώτερον,  
οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἔγω συνφοῖκην ἔσσα γεραιτέρα

1 For ἄρνυσο, or read ἄρνυσσο Bergk, ἄλλο before λέχος and νέω γ' before ἔσσα (one MS νέ οὔσα), which seems required

2 Cf συνF Schneidewin but reading and metre are quite uncertain

This is supposed by some to refer to Alcaeus, but he was older than Sappho, see p 187



ALCAEUS AND SAPPHO  
(From the Crater at Mnicha)



If love for us be in thy heart some younger woman wed  
 For tis no aged woman s part to share a young man s bed  
 Cf Shak. Twelfth Night ii 4 30

29\*

Bergk 35 Edm 51

*Logaoedic App* 34.

Ἄλλαν μοι μεγαλυννέο δακτυλίῳ πέρι.

Hoffmann Ἄλλ αρ Possibly ἄλλαν = elsewhither  
 cf κατέταν 80<sub>2</sub>. Edm ἄλλ ὄν (= ἀνδ) μή

To other ears I pray pride in thy ring display

30\*

Bergk 110 Edm 93

*Logaoedic App* 34

Ἄλλα μὴ κόμει τι στερ[ε]ῖαν φρένα.

MS ἄλλαν Lunak reads ἀλλὰ μὲν κόμπτει (cf also  
 Edm)

Fond girl faint not nor yield  
 Let thy firm heart be steel d

31

Ox Pap 1231 10 Edm. 42

*Sapphic App* 16

λ ἐπαβολ ἦσ

ν δόλοφιν ει

τρομέροις πρ λλα

5

χροά γῆρας ἦδη

ν ἀμφιβάσκει

ς πέταται διωκων

1 Wilam. χαλέωα βόλησ

2 Hesych. δόλοφιν δόλοφιν Lobel divides νδ δόλοφιν

3 Sc. μέλεισι σι γυίοις

5 Cf Ox. Pap. 1787 2<sub>12</sub>. After 439 MS. has ε or κ in margin.





## 33\*

Bergk 14 Edm 14

*Sapphic Apb* 16

ταῖς κάλαις ὑμῖν τὸ νόημα τῶμον  
οὐ δίδμειπτον

Fair comrades mine to you  
My thought is ever true

## 34

Bergk 11 Edm. 12

*Sapphic Apb* 16

τάδε ἰὺν ἐταίραις  
ταῖς ἐμαῖσι τέρπνα κάλως αἰέσω

With these songs shall my voice  
My comrades hearts rejoice.

## 35\*

Bergk 21 Edm 124

*Logaoedic? Apb* 24

ἐμεθεν δ' ἔχισθα λάθαν  
and of me you are wholly forgetful

## 38

Bergk 22 Edm 22

*Sapphic Apb* 16

ἢ τίν' ἄλλον  
[μᾶλλον] ἀνθρώπων ἔμεθεν φέλησθα.

1 The ἢ is perhaps due to Apollonius, who quotes the line

Or what man can there be  
Thou lovest more than me?

## 37

Ox Pap 1231, 16, Bergk, 12, Edm 13, Etym M  
449, 34

*Sapphic, Apf 16*

(a) θαμέω[ν] .  
 . ὅττινας γὰρ  
εὖ θέω, κῆνοί με μάλιστα πάν[των]  
[εἶτα] σίνονται

5 ἄλσμάτ[ων] . .  
 γόνω με .  
ιμ' οὐ πρ .  
αι

σέ θέλω  
10 [τοῦ]το πάθη[ν]

Bergk, 15, from Apoll, *Pronomi* 324 B, Edm 15

(b) λαν · ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὐτα  
τοῦτο σύνοιδα

[ᾶ]στοισ[ι] .  
εναμ  
15 ε .

3 Catull 73, 5

4 If the line is rightly placed, σῖνονται must be short Edm disputes its position here for palaeographical reasons Perh [δηῖτε] edd

11 So Papyr and Apoll, whose MS reads ἔγω

Whether lines 3-5 (Bergk, 12) are rightly placed here is not certain But we cannot think of Sappho in this poem as exemplifying the words of Horace (*Odes*, 11, 13, 24), *Aeolis fidibus querentem* . *puellis de popularibus*, for these words seem to mean "singing elegies over the girls of her people"



THE HEAD IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY AT FLORENCE  
(From photograph sent me by the Director)



- 4 They make me most of all to grieve  
Who kindness at my hands receive

11 And in myself I know this well

## 38

Ox. Pap 1787 6

*Ionic? Ap<sup>h</sup> 32*

- σε Μίκα
- ελα [δλ]λα σ εγώνκ εἶδω  
 5 ν φίλό[τατ] ηλτο Πειθιλήαν  
 δα κα[κὸ]τροπ αμμα[ε]  
 μέλος τι γλυκερον  
 α μελλιχόφαν[ος]  
 [αε]δει λίγυραι δ αη[δοι]  
 δροσόεσσα

3 Adj sc. ναῖθω Cf Edm., Alc. 75

4 MS. κα τροπ

6 Cf. 160

Here only in all that remains to us of Sappho do we find any reference to the political parties or affairs of Mitylene which loom so large in the poetry of Alcaeus. The daughters of Penthilus here alluded to belonged to the Lesbian clan to which Pittacus the dictator was allied by his marriage with the sister of Dracon son of Penthilus

Mica if we take the word as a proper name is not likely say Drs. Grenfell and Hunt to be the person to whom the poem is addressed for the accent in that case would more probably be a circumflex. They suggest that the meaning of the sentence may be Mica wishes to bring you here but I will not receive you The unintelligible reference to singers and sweet voiced nightingales at the end is tantalizing

## 39

Ox Pap 1787, 7 Lobel, p 32

*Ionic ? Apb* 32

[κα]ἰ γάρ μ' ἀπὸ τᾶς .  
 [ῥ]μῶς δ' ἔγεν  
 ἴσαν θέοισιν  
 ασαν ἀλίτρα

5

[Ἀν]δρομέδαν .  
 τα . κα . . .  
 τρόπον ἃ κύνη  
 ορον οὐ κάτισ[χεν]

Τυνδαρίδαι[ς]

10 ασυ κα[ἰ] χαρίεντ' ἃ . .  
 . κ' ἄδολον [μ]ήκετι συν .  
 . . . β . η  
 μεγαρα να α .

3 Cf 6<sub>6</sub>, 141<sub>18</sub>, 141<sub>21</sub>

6 The letters between τα and κα are μα or ια

12 μεγ read in the MS by Lobel

Though this poem was very probably addressed to one of Sappho's circle, it is not likely that Andromeda is her rival, of whom we have heard before (14, 59) She is more likely to be the legendary heroine (see also Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 36) The mention of the Tyndarids points in the same direction, if these fragments go together

## 40

Ox Pap 1231, 14, Edm 44

*Sapphic, Apb* 16

Of the preceding stanza of this Sapphic Ode we have only three or four letters at the end of the third line ἔρ[ωτος] ἥδη

5 . [ὥς γὰρ . ἄν]τιον εἰσίδω σε  
 . . 'Ερμῖοια τοαύ[τα]

4 Possibly ἡλπ or ἡλγ

6 Or τεαύτα

[οὔδαμα] ξάνθα δ' Ἑλίκη σ' εἶσο[κ]ην  
[οὔδεν αει]κές

10 [αἰ θέ]μις θνάταις τόδε δ' ἰσ[θι] τῇ σῇ  
παῖσαν κέ με τὴν μερμήναν  
λαῖς ἀντιδ' αἰθοῖς δέ

15 [τί]ην σε  
ντας οχθοῖς  
ταῖς

[παν]νυχίς[δην]

8 Herod. iii 24

9 μ may be α or λ. The digamma of ἰσθι is disregarded. This occurs also in other words.

13 From Scholiast; see Edm. *ad loc.* Grenf. and Hunt read  
τ αἰ

This might well be part of an epithalamium

5-9 For when I look upon thee face to face  
Hermione seems not for all her grace  
As fair as thou nor far amiss twould be  
In this my song O Friend to liken thee  
If mortals to the gods we may compare  
To royal Helen of the golden hair

Cf Ovid *Art Amat* ii 644.

#### 41

Or. Pap 1787 1 Bergk 79 Edm 118

*Ionie App* 30

Athenaeus xv 687 A Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰσθε τὴν ἀβρότητα  
χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τι τρυφερόν. Σαπφῶ γυνὴ μὲν πρὸς  
ἀλήθειαν οὔσα καὶ ποιήτρια ὅμως ἠδύσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς  
ἀβρότητος ἀφελεῖν λέγουσα ὥδε (viz the two complete



lines 24, 25 given below) φανερόν ποιούσα πᾶσιν ὥς ἡ  
τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρόν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ  
ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν οἰκεία τῆς ἀρετῆς

	λεσσα	ιδ' α
	πέρι	
	εικε	να
		[θ]ιγούσα
5		ιδ' ἄχθην
	χυ θίοι ἀλλ	[α]ῦταν
	ἀ τιλ	εισα
	· ένα τὰν	αν ὕμον σ'
		νι θῆται στύμα[σι] πρόκοψιν
10		πων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες
	[ὦ]φίλ', αἰδον λιγύραν χελύνναν	
	[πά]ντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη	
	[λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένον]το τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν	
	αι γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι	
15		ῆσθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισιν
		ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην ,
		οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
		βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
		κατὰ γᾶς φέροισα
20		ον ὕμῳς ἔμαρψεν
		άταν ἄκοιτιν
		φθιμέναν νομίσδει
		αἰς ὀπάσδοι

1 The three words on the left margin are given by Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt as Frag 2 (a) The rest as Fragg 1 and 2

8 The first α is marked long in the manuscript

12 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 10b

13 Editors of Ox Pap

14 Cf Alcman, 26

17 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 1, 1, 33

18 Cf 51<sub>2</sub> for another beautiful epithet for dawn see also πότνια αὔως, Bergk, 153

21 Hor., *Od* 11, 14, 21

- 25 ἔγω δὲ φίλημι ἀβροσύναν [ἴσθι γε] τοῦτο καὶ μοι  
 τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ αἰδέω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε  
 ἐπιν νό  
 φίλαι  
 καὶ ν

Edm. reads *τερπιν* for *τροφερὸν* in Athenaeus

24 MS. *φίλημμι*.

25 MS. *ἔρωσ* which is the usual Aeolic form but see 40, where Wilam. conjectures *ἔρωτες* and cf. Ox. Pap. 1787 11.

Athenaeus Do you think that delicate living without virtue brings any comfort? Why Sappho who was a woman if ever there was one and a poetess nevertheless shrank from divorcing delicacy of life from honour for she makes it clear to all that for her the joy of life contained in itself that which was splendid and that which was honourable and these are concomitants of virtue.

Though Athenaeus has no doubt as to Sappho's meaning and says that she has made it clear to all yet some editors consider that Athenaeus is entirely mistaken in a matter which was within his competence and that Sappho was thinking of physical brightness and beauty

From what is left to us of the three and twenty preceding lines of this piece we can form some idea of Sappho's meaning in it. She appears to be speaking of the charms of music as alleviating the sadness which the approach of old age brings with it when the bright hues of youth give place to the wanness of old age black hair turns to white and joints once as supple and as nimbly as a fawn's can no longer join in the dance.

But what can the victim do? Age must follow youth as darkness in its turn follows dawn The time cannot but come for all when earth and its joys must be left behind.

Then Sappho goes on somewhat defiantly to say in the words which Athenaeus quotes with approval, pointing the moral to those who are dining with him —

Know this !

All delicate things do I love, and joy in the sunlight  
above

Hath ever with me had a share, in all that is noble and  
fair

## 42

Bergk, 17 ; Edm 17, 18

*Sapphic*, *App* 16

κατ' ἔμον στέλαγμον  
τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντ' ἄνεμοι φέροιεν  
καὶ μελεδῶναις

1 Hor , *Od* 1, 26, 1, tristitiam et metus Tradam protervis portare ventis Lines 1, and 2, 3 are separate quotations joined by Hoffmann

. in the drip, drip, of pain ,  
Which, when it comes, and all my care  
Far from my breast may swift winds bear !

## 43

Bergk, 36 , Edm 52.

" *Sapphic* " of 14 Syllables, *App* 34

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅττι θέω δύο μοι τὰ νοήματα

For phrase cf Aristaenetus, 1, 6 δίχα μοι γέγονε τὰ νοήματα

I know not what to do were best,  
Two thoughts contend within my breast

## 44

Bergk, 72 , Edm 74

*Choriambic* (*Lesser Asclepiad*), *App* 28

ἀλλὰ τις οὐκ ἐμμι παλιγκότων  
οργάν ἄλλ ἀβάκην τὰν φρέν ἔχω

1 Edm. denies the possibility of such a genit. of quality at this date, and he reads *παλιγκοτος* with Ursinus.

No rancour in my bosom sways  
Gentle and childlike are my ways

## 45

Edmonds 89 Wilam. *Sappho* 11 *Simonides* 51  
Diehl. 18

Julian (*Epist ad Iamblichum* 60) Ἦλθες καὶ  
ἐποίησας ἦλθες γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὼν οἷς γράφεις ἐγὼ δὲ σ  
ἐμαόμαν ἀν δ ἐφύλαξας ἐμὴν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ  
χαῖρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πολλὰ κάθαπερ ἡ καλὴ Σαπφώ  
φῃσιν καὶ οὐκ ἰσάριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἀλλήλων  
ἀπελείφθημεν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰὲ χαῖρε

*Sapphic of 14 Syllables Arph* 34

Ἦλθες εὖ δ ἐποίησας ἐγὼ δὲ σ ἐμαόμαν  
ὃν δ ἐφύλαξας ἐμὴν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ  
χαῖρε δ ἄμμι [σὺ] πόλλ ἰσαριθμὰ τε τῷ χρόνῳ  
[ἔσσουν ἀλλάλων ἀπελείφθημεν ]

MS μὰ ὤμων

1 Or ἐμαόμαν

2 Edm. = ἐφύλαξας or ἐφύλαξ 1 for ἐφύλαξας Thomas ἐφύλαξ

Julian Thou art come thou hast done well for thou  
hast come even though thou art far away in thy letter  
I was longing for thee thou hast kept my heart burning  
with love To thyself also many a welcome from us  
as the beautiful Sappho says and not so many only as the  
days we have been parted but indeed a countless welcome

Thou art come it is well for of thee I am fain  
Thou hast lighted love's fire in my bosom again.  
All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart  
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart.

Then Sappho goes on somewhat defiantly to say in the words which Athenaeus quotes with approval, pointing the moral to those who are dining with him —

Know this !

All delicate things do I love, and joy in the sunlight  
above

Hath ever with me had a share, in all that is noble and  
fair

## 42

Bergk, 17 ; Edm 17, 18

*Sapphic*, *Apφ*. 16

. . . . . κατ' ἔμον στέλαγμον  
τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντ' ἄνεμοι φέροιεν  
καὶ μελεδῶναις

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For phrase cf Aristaenetus, 1, 6 δίχα μοι γέγονε τὰ νοήματα

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Two thoughts contend within my breast

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Bergk, 72 , Edm 74

*Choriambic* (*Lesser Asclepiad*), *Apφ* 28

ἀλλὰ τις οὐκ ἔμμι παλιγκότιον  
οργαν ἀλλ δβδάκην τὰν φρέν ἔχω

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ἐμαόμαν ἂν δ ἐφύλαξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ  
χαιρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν πολλὰ κάθαπερ ἡ καλὴ Σαπφῶ  
φῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἰσαριθμὰ μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ οὐ ἀλλήλων  
ἀπελείφθημεν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰεὶ χαιρε

*Sapphic of 14 Syllables Aḡḡ 34*

Ἦλθες εὖ δ ἐποίησας ἐγὼ δέ σ ἐμαόμαν  
οὐ δ ἐφύλαξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ  
χαιρε δ ἄμμι [σὺ] πόλλ ἰσαριθμὰ τε τῷ χρόνῳ  
[ἔσσαν ἀλλήλων ἀπελείφθημεν ]

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Thou hast lighted love's fire in my bosom again  
All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart  
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart

## 46\*

Bergk, 40 , Edm 81

*Aeolic Tetrameter, App 34*

"Ερος δαῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει  
γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον

1 Hesiod, *Theog* 911 , Alcman 36 , Bergk, *Carm Popul* 44 For λυσιμ see Archil 85 Cf Hor , *Od* iv, 1, 2, *rursus* for δαῦτε, and for δόνει Moschus, 5, 5, and for γλυκυπ *Theog* 1353 , Catull 68, 18 See also Aristoph , *Eccl.* 954, where he perhaps imitates an epithalamium of Sappho's

Love's palsy yet again my limbs doth wring,  
That bitter-sweet resistless creeping thung

2 " Love creeps where it cannot go " Shak , *Two Gent* , iv, 2, 20

## 47

Bergk, 42 , Edm 54

" *Sapphic* " of 14 Syllables, *App 34*

"Ερος δ' ἐτίναξ' ἔμαις  
φρένας ὡς ἄνεμος κατ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέσων

2 Nauck *κατάρης*, as Eustath says Sappho used it with ἄνεμος Hoffmann ἐμπέτων

Love again hath fluttered my heart, as a squall  
That down from the hill on the oaks doth fall

As Max Tyr in quoting this compares it to the love of Socrates for Phaedrus, Sappho may be thinking of Anactoria, whom Max Tyr makes parallel to Phaedrus, 24 (18)

## 48

Bergk, 126 , Edm 29

*Sapphic*, *App 16*

Julian, *Ep* 18 ἵνα σε,

τὸ μέλημα τῶμον,  
ὡς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι

Cf Ovid *Heroid* xv 123 Tu mihi cura.

Julian As Sappho says

O but my arms to twine

About thee darling mine!

The quotation from Sappho may be limited to ὦ μέλημα  
τῶμον For thought cf Tennyson *Maid* iii 4.

## 49\*

Bergk 55 Edm 96 Possibly by Alcaeus

*Trochaic?* *Apρ* 35

Ἀβρα ἴδεῦτε παγχῆς πάλαι ἄλλόμαν

No satisfactory emendation has been proposed

O dainty maid of old *into thine arms* I sprang

## 50

Bergk 130 Edm. 84a

*Sapphic* *Apρ* 16

Libanius *Or* 1 402 (ed Reiske) Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν  
οὐδὲν ἐκωλύσεν εὐξασθαι

νύκτα διπλασίαν γένεσθαι

For αὕτη which Lib inserts after νύκτα we might read  
δ αἰτῶ

Libanius Nothing prevented the Lesbian Sappho  
from praying that the night should be for her a double  
night Libanius refers to the story of Zeus and  
Alcmena, when Heracles was conceived Possibly  
though αὕτη is against this the words may come from  
an epithalamium

## 51

Bergk, 18 Edm. 19

*Sapphic* *Apρ* 16

Ἀπρίως μ δ χρυσοπέδιλλος αὔως

But now the golden sandal d Dawn



Loeb edition Though I have not felt at liberty to make use of his conjectural restoration, there can be no harm in reproducing in a translation the general sense of what he thinks may have been in the poem

*O Sappho, if thou comest not,  
Then shall my love be all forgot  
Oh, shine on us, and from thy bed  
Set free thy dear-loved lustihead ;  
And like marsh lilies by the tide,  
Thy Chian peplus laid aside,  
Bathe in the stream, and Klers down  
From thy rich stores a saffron gown  
Shall bring, thy robe of royal red  
And cloak and garlands for thy head .*

## 56

Bergk, 10 , Edm 10

*Sapphic, App 16*

*Αἷ με τιμίαν ἔποησαν ἔργα  
τὰ σφὰ δοῖσαι*

Giving me their gifts of pride,  
My name the Muses glorified

## 57\*

Bergk, *Adesp* , p 53, from Plut , *Garr* 5, as an instance of charm like that of Lysias

*Choriambic (with basis), App 26*

*ἔγω φαῖμι Φιοπλόκων  
Μοῖσαν εὖ λάχμεν*

1 For ἰοπλοκάμων Bergk This fragm is possibly by Alcaeus

Fair is the portion that I claim as mine  
With you, O violet-weaving Muses nine



THE SAPHO OF THE TERME MUSEUM IN ROME  
(From photograph by Bernard Ashmole)



## 58

Bergk 37 Edm 53

*Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34.*

ψαῦν δ' οὐ δοκίμωμ' ὀράνω δυσι πᾶχεσι

MS δυσπαχέα see Bergk. The reading is quite uncertain. Cf Herodas iv 75 θεῶν φαίεω Ps. Callisth ii, 20 ὥσποτε κἀγὼ ἰσόθειον ἔχων κράτος χερσὶν ἐμαῖς οὐρανοῦ ἠθέλησα ψαῦσαι 2 Maccabees ix 10 Touch the stars of heaven Hor *Od* I *ad fin*

Two cubits short am I I ween to touch the sky

Or it may be translated (taking the alternative meaning)

How could I ever dream that I

With my two hands should touch the sky?

## 59

Bergk 32 Edm 76

*Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34*

Μνάσεσθαί τινα φαῖμι καὶ ὕστερον ἄμμεων

ὕστερον for MS ἔτερον Volger This boast became a commonplace from Pindar to Ovid and Horace and Shakespeare *Sonnets* 55 Edmonds thinks this may have been the last poem in Sappho's own edition of her works cf Horace's *Exegi monumentum* at end of his third book.

Mark me! The after days shall see

Those that will still remember me.

59<sup>A</sup>\*

After quoting the last given line from Sappho Dio Chrysostom (*Orat* 37 *ad fin*) goes on with the following

words, which, as the form *λάθα* seems to show, may be a paraphrase of more that Sappho wrote

*Λάθα μὲν ἤδη τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρους ἔσφηλε καὶ ἐψεύσατο,  
γνώμη δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα*

*Metre unknown, but see Edm 77*

Some, by forgetfulness undone,  
Have of their hopes been quite bereft,  
But this was never true of one  
To good men's judgment who was left

### 60\*

Bergk, 32<sup>n</sup>, Stobaeus, *Floril* 26

"*Sapphic*" of 14 Syllables, *Aph* 34

*Λάθα Πιέρισι στυγέρα καὶ ἀνάρσιος*

MS *Πιερίδων* and *ἀνάρστος*

Forgotten! 'tis an odious word,  
And never by the Muses heard!

### 61

Bergk, 136, Edm 108

*Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad)*, *Aph* 28

Maximus Tyrius, 24, 9 *Ἀνθάπτεται Σωκράτης τῇ  
Ξανθίππῃ ὀδυρομένη ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν, ἣ δὲ Σαπφὼ τῇ  
θυγατρὶ*

[Ἄλλ'] οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισοπόλῳ οἰκίᾳ  
θρῆνον ἔμμεναι οὐκ ἄμμι πρέπει τάδε.

1 Neue for MS *μουσοπόλων*

2 Dubner *πρέποι*, and Lobel *τάδε πρέποι*

Maximus Tyrius Socrates takes Xanthippe up for lamenting that he was dying, and so Sappho to her daughter (Kleïs)

Never where lovers of the Muses dwell  
Should dirges sound for us that were not well

## 62

Ox. Pap xi 1356

A fragment of Philo (born about 20 B C) speaking of Philosophy

[Σαπ]φοῦς εὐβουλλία φησὶ γὰρ  
θεοὶ δ κσω τικα δακ θε ηλ ηλα

εὐβουλλία i.e. περὶ θεῶν τικα δα—possibly τι καλῶν

If this mutilated passage is rightly referred to Sappho (for which see Pauly Wissowa, article *Sappho* 1920 ed.) we would gladly have known how her views about the gods showed her good sense and we may compare *Fragm* 64.

## 63

Bergk 101 Edm. 58

*Logaoedic? App* 34.

Galen *Protrepti* 8 Ἀμεινον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν  
τῶν μεираκλίων ὥραν τοῖς ἡρώοις ἀνθεσιν δοικυιαν ὀλιγοχρόνιον  
τε τὴν τέρψιν ἔχουσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν Λεσβίαν λέγουσαν

ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὅσον ἴδην πέλεται [κάλος]

ο δὲ καθαθὸς αὐτὶκα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται

Galen adds that Solon says much the same as Sappho

1 Some think this may be part of a bridal song

Galen It is therefore better knowing as we do that the blooming time of the young is like the spring flowers and its enjoyment as transitory to applaud the Lesbian too when she says —

He that is fair fair only is to see

He that is good fair too shall straightway be

Weir Smyth aptly quotes Ben Jonson's "How near to good is what is fair!"

## 64

Bergk, 137, Edm 91

*Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad)* ? *Apφ* 28

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 11, 33 "Ὡσπερ Σαπφώ "Ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακὸν οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν, εἴπερ ἦν καλὸν τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν

Τὸ θναίσκην κάκον οὕτω κεκρίκαισι θεοὶ  
ἔθναισκόν κε γάρ, αἴπερ κάλον ἦν τόδε

I follow Hartung except *κε* for *ἄν*, but it is all very doubtful For *θεοὶ*, cf 140a<sub>2</sub>

Aristotle · As Sappho says Death is an evil, for so the gods have decided, for they would have died, had death been good

Death is an ill, 'tis thus the Gods decide  
For had death been a boon, the Gods had died

## 65

Bergk, 27, Edm 137

*Dactylic tetrameter, or Adonius, Apφ* 17

Plutarch, *Coh I* 1a, 7 Ἐν ὀργῇ δὲ σεμνότερον οὐδὲν ἡσυχίας, ὥς ἡ Σαπφώ παραινεῖ

Σκιδναμένας ἐν στήθεσιν ὄργας  
μαψυλάκαν γλῶσσαν πεφύλαχθαι

2 Inf for imper or read πεφύλαξο

Plutarch In anger there is nothing more dignified than silence, as Sappho warns us —

With anger when the breast is wrung,  
Curb thou the idly-barking tongue

## 66

Bergk 80 Edm 100

*Choriambic App* 26

The Scholiast on Pindar *Ol* ii 96 where the poet is speaking of the advantages of wealth set off with virtues points out that the one without the other is not nearly so desirable and quotes the following lines. Plutarch also *De Nobilitate* § 5 shows the dependence of *eugeneia* upon *aretē* and quotes (in the Latin translation) —

Opes citra virtutis eximium decus | Domum male incolunt  
 sin his immisceas | Felicitas hinc summa belle nascitur

Ὁ γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀνευ τῆς ἀρέτας οὐκ ἀσίνης παροικὸς  
 αὖ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κρᾶσις ἔχει τακρον [ἀεὶ βρότοισιν]  
 [τᾶς] εὐδαιμονίας

Of the *De Nobil* we have only a Latin translation subsequently itself turned into Greek. Cf also Plut *Liber Educ* 5 *Eugeneia* καλὸν μὲν ἀλλὰ προγόνων αγαθὸν πλοῦτος δὲ τίμιον μὲν ἀλλὰ τύχης κτήμα. Also Callim *Hymn to Zeus* 95

The wealth that has no share in worth  
 Is no safe inmate of our hearth  
 But when the two are blent in one  
 The height of happiness is won

From Plutarch in the Latin version —

An evil partner of our home  
 Is wealth divorced from virtue & grace  
 But if they thither blended come  
 True happiness shall there have place

## 67

Bergk 141 142 Edm 110

Pausanias viii 18 5 *Καθαρευειν τὸν χρυσὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ*  
*ιοῦ ἢ ποιητρία μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἢ Λεσβία*



Scholast, Pindar, *Pyth* iv, 407 ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς ἄφθαρτος  
καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ [     ] ὅτι Ἐὐδὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός, κείνον οὐ  
σῆς οὐδὲ κίς δάπτει

The words quoted are probably Pindar's (*Frag* 207)  
and Sappho's words have dropped out

Pausanias The Lesbian poetess is witness that gold  
is untarnished by rust

Scholast to Pindar Gold is indestructible, as Sappho  
also sings [     ], for "gold is a child of Zeus, no moth  
nor worm can eat it away".

For ever gold doth gold remain,  
No rust or mould its sheen can stain

## 68

Bergk, 114, Edm 78  
*Choriambic* ?

Μὴ κίνη χέραδας

MS μὴ κενὴ χέραδος We might read χέραδος *neut*

Stir not the shingle on the shore

## 69

Bergk, 113, Edm 106  
? *Choriambic*, *Apφ* 34

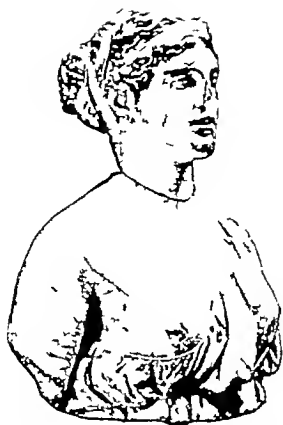
Diogenianus, *Proν* 1, 279 Ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων  
παθεῖν τι φαῦλον μετὰ ἀμαθῶν

Μήτ' ἔμοι μέλι μήτε μελίσσαις

μελίσσαις acc plur

Diogenianus On those who will not have "a rose for  
its thorns"

No honey for me, if it comes with a bee



THE OXFORD BUST IN THE ASHMOLEAN  
(From cut)



## 70

Bergk 148 Edm. 92

*Logaoedic?*

Eustathius *Opusc* 345 52 Οὐ πόρνη κατὰ τὴν  
*Ιερικουτίαν* ἐκείνην φίλα τις δηλαδὴ πολυρῆμβαστος  
καὶ

κάλον δόκεισα (εἴποι αὖ ἡ Σαπφώ) δαμόσιον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
καθαρά

Edmonds thinks that *πολυρ* may be part of the  
quotation and this is quite possible

Eustathius Not a harlot like the famous one of  
Jericho a friendship that is of a roving kind

A boon it seems that all may share

(as Sappho would say) but even a pure one.

Cf Shak *Sonnets* 137 6 A bay where all men ride.

## 71\*

Bergk 52 Edm 111

*Logaoedic or possibly Ionic App* 19 and 31

Δέδυκε μὲν αὖ σελάννα  
καὶ Πληιάδες μέσαι δὲ  
νύκτες παρὰ δ' ἔρχεται ὥρα  
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα κατεύδω

Possibly based upon a folk-song Cf. 53

## 71

The Moon and Pleiades have set,

Midnight is nigh

The time is passing passing yet

Alone I lie

## 72

Bergk, 4, Edm 4

*Sapphic, Apb* 16

Hermogenes, *Rhet Græc*, III, 315, ed Walz Τὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχροῦς (τῶν ἡδονῶν) ἔστιν ἀπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἶον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφορὰν καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίαν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὄψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὁρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκόῃ ὅτε ἐξαγγέλλει τις ὥσπερ ἡ Σαπφώ καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τούτων γε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴρηται

ἀμφὶ δ' ὕδωρ

[ἤρεμα] ψυχρον κελάδει δι' ὕδων  
μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων  
κῶμα κατάρρει

Cf Hor, *Ephod* II, 17, Frondesque (MS fontes) lymphis obstrepunt manantibus, somnos quod invitet leves See also Lucian, *Philops* Edm, excellently, ψυχρον ὤνεμος

Hermogenes on Sweetness of Style All pleasures that are not disgraceful can be spoken of simply, such as the natural beauty of a place, the variety of trees, the attractive diversity of streams, and all such things For they afford pleasure to the sight when seen, and to the ear, when one describes them, as Sappho in the following words . and in what precedes and follows —

And all around

Mid apple boughs cool waters sound,

And from the rustling leaves o'erhead

Deep sleep is shed

Possibly a garden of the Nymphs is meant, see 161

## 73\*

Bergk, *Adesp* 104<sup>a</sup>, Edm 133*Ionic (irregular), Apb* 31

Demetrius *Eloc* 164 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐχάρι μετα κόσμου  
ἀκφέρεται καὶ δι ὀνομάτων καλῶν α μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς  
χάριτας ὅλον τόν

ποικίλλεται μὲν γαῖα πολυστέφανος

Demetrius Charm is brought out in association with  
ornament and by means of beautiful words which con-  
duce most of all to such graces of style for instance —

The Earth in many a garland fair  
Its varied livery now doth wear

## 74

Bergk 30 Edm 139

*Hexameters ? with basis App* 33

χρύσειοι δ ἐρέβινθοι ἐπ αἰόνων ἐφύοντο  
And clustered in their golden pride  
Grew vetches by the water side.

## 75

Bergk, 3 Edm. 3

*Sapphic App* 16

Ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνταν  
ἄφ ἀποκρυπτοιοι φάεινον εἶδος  
ὄπποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη  
γῶν [ἐπὶ παισαν]

Julian *Ep* 19 Σαπφῶ ἡ καλὴ τὴν σελήνην ἀργυρεῖαν  
φῆσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἀλλων ἀστέρων ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν οὐσιν

2. Cf. Hor *Od* 1 12 45 Edmonds reads λάμψη ἀργυρία γῆ

Stars veil their beauty soon  
Beside the glorious moon  
When her full silver light  
Doth make *the whole* earth bright

## 76

Bergk, 53 Edm. 112 Ox. Pap 220 9

*Ionic (irregular) App* 22 31

Πλήρης μὲν φαίνεται ἡ σελάννα,  
αἱ δ' ὥς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν . .

Heph 36, calls this metre Praxilleian Ionic Trimeter brachycatalectic

Full rose the moon upon the maiden band,  
And, as they round the altar took their stand . .

## 77

Bergk, 121, Edm. 107

*Logaoedics (Greater Asclepiad), Aph 26*

Clearchus (circa 300 B C) apud Athenaeum, xii, 554 :  
Φυσικὸν γὰρ δή τι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους  
ἀνθολογεῖν . ὅθεν καὶ Σαπφῷ φησιν ἰδεῖν κ τ λ

Ἄνθε' ἀμέργοισαν ἴδον παῖδ' ἀπάλαν ἔγω ἴδον  
Hoffm

Clearchus For, indeed, it is natural that those who think themselves beautiful and in their bloom should gather flowers, and Sappho says

A maid full tender did I see,  
Picking the wild flowers on the lea.

## 78

Bergk, 73, Edm 67.

*Metre unknion, Aph 24*

Scholast Aristoph, *Thesm* 401 Νεωτέρων καὶ  
ἐρωτικῶν τὸ στεφανηπλοκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος, ὅτι ἐστεφανη-  
πλόκου αἱ παλαιαί Σαπφῷ.

Αὐται ὠραῖαι στεφανηπλόκην

Hoffmann for MS αὐταυρααι στεφανηπλόκοον Edm.  
reads αἱ τ' ὄρααι

Wilam αὐτὰ ὠραία . he says these words undoubtedly belong to *Fragm* 28 (Bergk, 75) see *Sappho u. Simon*, p 48<sup>n</sup>.

Scholast, Aristophanes The weaving of garlands was the occupation of the young and of lovers It was the ancient custom for women to weave the garlands.

So Sappho —

Fair maids in their love  
Many a garland wove.

## 79

Bergk 16 Edm. 16

*Sapphic App* 16

The Scholiast on Pindar *Pyth* 1 10 contrasts the picture of the eagle of Zeus lulled to sleep by music and this of the doves by Sappho

ταισι [δὲ] ψυχρὸς μὲν ἔγεντο θυμός  
παρ δ' ἴησι τὰ πτέρᾱ.

Fick reads *ψαυκρὸς* = swift or light from Hesychius as the Scholiast draws a strong contrast *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου* between the two pictures. But there is no proof that *ψαυκρὸς* was used metaphorically and there seems no particular reason why lightness of heart should make the doves slacken their pinions.

We get the contrast between the doves and the eagle well enough perhaps if we take the chill of death to be the cause of the former slackening their wings without reading *ψαυκρὸς*.

Death's cold to their hearts struck chill  
And their wings dropt down and were still

## 80\*

Bergk *Alc* 39 Edm 94 Wilam. S 11 S 61

*Logaoedic? App* 24

Demetrius *Eloc* 142 *Γίνονται καὶ ἀπὸ λέξεως χάριτες ἡ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέττιγος*

πτερυγῶν ὑπακακχέει λεγύραν δοῖδαν  
οἱ ποτα φλόγιον κατέταν ἐπιπτάμενον καταύλει.

2 κατέταν for κ θέταν (= ἀν καθέως) καταύλει Fieckh MS. καταυδαίη



Demetrius Graces of style arise also from the language used, or from a metaphor, as that of the cricket —

His shrill notes from beneath his wings  
Outpoured, the sweet cicala sings,  
What time he charms away the fiery heat,  
That on the shimmering earth doth beat

## 81

Bergk, 127, Edm 90

*Metre unknown*

Aristides, 1, 425 'Γάνος', οὐ 'διαφθείρον τὰς ὄψεις',  
ὡς ἔφη Σαπφώ, ἀλλ' αὐξὼν καὶ στέφον (sc τὴν πόλιν) . .  
'ὕακινθίνῳ μὲν ἄνθει' οὐδαμῶς 'ὁμοῖον', ἀλλ' οἶον οὐδὲν  
πώποτε γῆ καὶ ἥλιος ἔφηναν

2 Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 231

Aristides "Sheen" that does not "blind the sight",  
as Sappho says, but strengthens it in no way "like  
the hyacinth flower"

The sheen that like the hyacinth's hue  
Dazzles the eye

## 82\*

Bergk, 54, Edm 114, Heph quotes the first two lines  
separately from the third (§§ 68, 70) without ascribing  
either to Sappho

*Ionic, Aph* 32

Κρηῆσαι νύ ποτ' ὦδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν  
ὦρχηντ' ἀπάλοις ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον,  
ποιᾶς τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάττεισαι

1 Cf Apoll Rhod 1, 443, 456

2 Cf Hesiod, *Theog*, ad init

3 Hom, *Od* ix, 449

Thus oft of old in measure meet  
The Cretan maids with delicate feet '  
Danced, danced the lovely altar round  
Upon the soft smooth grassy ground

## 83

Bergk 88 Edm 122

*Ionic a minore App* 31

Hephaestion 72 says that the whole poem from which his quotation was taken was in the *Ionic a minore* metre (Hor *Od* iii 12) a favourite with Sappho

*Τί με Πανδίωνος ὠρᾶντα χελίδων*

Or *ὦ πάντα χελιδόν* Isaac Voss

What thoughts to me Pandion's child doth bring  
The heaven haunting swallow of the spring?

On a red figured amphora from Vulci a youth seeing a swallow cries *Ἰδού χελιδων!* a man sitting near joins in with *Νῆ τὸν Ηρακλέα* and a boy pointing upwards says *Αὐτῇ*. On the left are the words *ἔαρ ἦοι*

## 84

*\*Ἦρος ἀγγελὸς μεροφῶτος ἀήδω*

Bergk 39 Edm 138

*Dactylic App* 33

Or *Ἰῆρος* Cf Ben Jonson *Sad Shepherd* The  
nightingale the angel of the spring  
The sweet voiced nightingale  
Spring's harbinger all hail!

## 85

Ox Pap 1231 9 Edm. 41

*Sapphic App* 16

*ἐπίδεσμα*

*ε γάνος δὲ καὶ*

*τύχα σὺν ἔσλα*

*ος κρέτῃσαι*

*γᾶς μελαίνας*

	.	.	.	.	.	[οὐκ ἔθ]έλοισι ναῦται
	.	.	.	.	.	[με]γάλαις ἀήταις
10	.	.	.	.	.	[ἄλ]α κατὰ χέρσω
	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	[ἄ]μοθεν πλέοι[μι]
	.	.	.	.	.	δὲ τὰ φόρτι' εἰκ
	.	.	.	.	.	ν ἄτιμ' ἐπεὶ κ. .
15	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	ῥέοντι πόλλ. .
	.	.	.	.	.	αι δέκε[σθαι]
	.	.	.	.	.	ει . .
	.	.	.	.	.	
20	.	.	.	.	.	ιν ἔργα
	.	.	.	.	.	χέρσω
	.	.	.	.	.	γα
	.	.	.	.	.	

16 Or πομπ

17 Perhaps δέκα as Lobel

20 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 2, 8 ιν ἔργων

This poem, of which we only possess a few words near the end of each line, was evidently a song relating to the sea, possibly describing a storm at sea. Had we recovered it, it could not fail to have been an interesting example of Sappho's descriptive style.

## 86

Ox Pap 1787, 3

Choriambic, *Apf* 32

Ἐπτάξατε	.	.	.	.	.
δάφνας ὅτα	.	.	.	.	.
πὰν δ' ἄδιον	.	.	.	.	.
ἦ κῆνον ἔλο	.	.	.	.	.

2 Possibly δάφνας, as Gr and H. There was a Daphne (Hebr. Tahpanhes) in the Delta. The heroine could hardly be meant

- 5 καὶ ταῖσι μὲν ἄ  
 ὁδοίπορος ἄν  
 μύγῃς δέ ποτ' εἰσάϊον· ἐκλ  
 ψύχα δ' αγαπᾶτα συν  
 τέαυτ[α](ν) δὲ νῦν ἔμμι  
 10 ἔκεσθ' αγανα  
 ἔφθατε καλῶν  
 τὰ τ' ἔμματα κα

θ ν must be wrong as it violates the metre.

A poem incomplete In this and the following fragment only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. Here there is little to guide as to the meaning of the verses unless we read Δάφνας in line two and refer it either to term Daphne in the Delta or to Apollo's Daphne

## 87

Ox Pap 1787 3<sup>b</sup>

*Ionic?* *Apρ* 32

- Οἶοιρε μελαίνω[ς διὰ νύκτος]  
 φοίτεις ὅτα γ' Ὑπνος [καταχευῇ βλεφάροισι λάθαν]  
 γλυκὺς θεός τῃ δαῖν δνίας μ  
 ζᾷ χωρὶς ἔχην τὴν δυναμ  
 5 ἔλπις δέ μ' ἔχει μὴ πεδέχην  
 μῆδεν μακάρων ἔλ  
 οὐ γάρ κ' ἔον οὕτω  
 ἀθύρματα κα  
 γένοιτο δὲ μοι  
 10 τοῖς πάντα

1 Grenfell and Hunt.

2 Ibid. MS. τ for γ

This fragment has suffered much the same fate as its predecessor but the opening words at least tell us that it

contained an Invocation to a Dream, which, had we possessed it entire, would have been of great interest. It probably came from Book IV.

In the Ox. Pap. 1787, 3, immediately before the last two poems here given, and separated from them by a *coronis* are the words,

ἔγεντ[ο]

οὐ γάρ κ[ε]

the beginning of the last two lines of another poem.

88\*

Bergk, 9, Edm 9

*Sapphic, Apf* 16

Αἴθ' ἔγω, χρυσοστέφαν' Ἀφρόδιτα,  
τόνδε τὸν πάλον λαχόην .

O Aphrodite of the golden crown,  
Would that this lot for me were thrown!

89a, b

(a) Bergk, 6, Edm 5

*Sapphic Apf* 16

(b) Bergk, 5, Edm 6

*Sapphic, Apf* 16

Menander, *Rhet. Graec.* 1x, 135, ed. Walz. *Μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων, ἐν μὲν ποιήσῃ, ἐπιμηκέστερον ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων τοῖς ποιήταις ἔξεστιν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν, ὡς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι πολλαχοῦ εὐρίσκομεν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων ὁρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλαχόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ οὐ μόνον γε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὺς ἔξεστι διαγράφειν οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν καλεῖ, ὕδωρ ἢ ὄχθας καὶ τοὺς ὑποπεφυκώτας λειμῶνας καὶ χόρους ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γενομένους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα*

προσαγαράφουσι, καὶ εἰ ἀπο κερῶν ὠσαντως ὥστε ἀναγκὴ  
μακροὺς αὐτῶν γιγῆσθαι τοὺς κλητικοὺς υμνοὺς

Athen xi 463 C κατὰ τὴν καλὴν Σαπφῶ

(a) Ἡ αἰ Κυπρὸς καὶ Παφὸς ἡ Πάνορμος  
χρυσιαῖσιν εἰ κυλίκεσσιν ἀβρῶτ  
αὐμμιμίγμενον θαλαῖσι τέκταρ  
οἰνοχόεσσα

(b) τουτοῖσι τοῖς ἑταῖροισι ἐμοῖς γε καὶ σοῖς

(a) and (b) may come from the same poem Cf Hor  
Od i 30

Line 5 may be the words of Athenaeus

Menander The length of invocatory hymns in poetry is however somewhat drawn out For at the same time the poets can summon the Gods from many habitats as we often find in Sappho and Alcan For the poet<sup>1</sup> summons Artemis for instance from countless hills countless cities and rivers too and Aphrodite is summoned<sup>2</sup> from Cyprus Cnidos Syria and many other localities Not only so but the poet can describe the places themselves as for example if he calls them from rivers he can describe the flowing water or the banks and they picture also the meadows that grow beside them and the dances that are celebrated there and such things and the same if they call them from their sacred temples So invocatory hymns must necessarily be of a lengthy character

(a) If Cyprus or if Paphos harbour thee  
Or the great Haven of the Sea

(b) Come Cyprus golden goblets fill  
With love's own nectar wine<sup>3</sup>  
And delicate delight instil  
For these friends mine and thine

<sup>1</sup> Query Alcan but Edm. suggests ὁ μὲν ἔξ ἑλ for τῇ μὲν  
τῇ &

<sup>2</sup> By Sappho.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. with love poetry

## 90\*

Bergk, 62, Edm 103

*Choriambic, App* 26

Καθθαίσκει, Κυθήρῃ, ἄβρος Ἀδωνις τί κε θείμεν,  
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε χίτωνας.

Cf Anth Pal vii, 407, below, p 184

*Maidens* Tender Adonis lies a dying,

O Cytherea, what were best to do ?

*Cytherea* Go, beat your breasts, ye maids, and crying,  
Rend ye your robes in sign of rue

## 91\*

Bergk, 63, Edm 25

*Sapphic (Adonius), App* 16

The so-called Adonius (which seems like the last two feet of the Epic hexameter) was used by Sappho as the fourth line of the Sapphic stanza. The words quoted here were no doubt a refrain

ὦ τὸν Ἀδωνιν  
Ah, for Adonis !

## 92, 93

Bergk, 107, 108, Edm 136

*App* 18

Ἔσπετ' Ὑμῆναον  
ὦ τὸν Ἀδώνιον

MSS YECZEPYMHNIONTΩNAΔΩNION or YECCE-  
PYIAHNION ΩTONAΔΩNION

Sing ye the bridal song  
Ah, for Adonius !

## 94

Bergk 87 Edm 123

*Ionic App* 31

Ζῆ δὲ ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ Κυπρογενήα.

To avoid hiatus edd. insert δ or τ but this seems the opening line of a poem. Edm. reads διελεξ

In dreams before the morn

I spake with her the Cyprus-born.

## 95 96\*

Bergk 7 8 Edm 7

*Sapphic App* 16

Σοὶ δ' ἄγω λεύκας ἐπὶ βῶμον αἶγος

καπιλείφω τοι

White she-goats were offered to Aphrodite Pandemos  
see Lucian *Dial Meretr* vii 1

And to thy altar I will bring

A white goat &amp; kid as offering

And a libation pour to thee.

## 97

Bergk 44 Edm 87 see also *Proceedings Class*  
*Assoc* 1921

*Logaoedic App* 18

Athenaeus ix 410 E Σαπφῶ σταν λέγη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ  
τῶν Μελῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην [καγγόνων] κόσμον  
λέγει κεφαλῆς τὰ χειρόμακτρα

These χειρόμακτρα appear to be the head cloth usually  
called sakkos which we see on coins of Lesbos and on  
the so-called busts of Sappho



*Χερρόμακτρα δέ καγγόνων*  
*πορφύρα . . . .*  
*ταῦτα καί μοι ἀτιμάσεις,*  
*[ἄλλ]' ἔπεμψ', ἀπὸ Φωκάας*  
 5 *δῶρα τίμια (καγγόνων).<sup>1</sup>*

1 Seidl *κὰγ κόμων* Ahrens and Wilam *κὰγ γειύων*.

2 ? *πορφύρα*, but cf 141

3 MS *κα* (or *και*) *ταυταμενατατιμασεις* Or read *καί κεν ἀτιμάσης*  
 Edm reads *καταρταμένα, τὰ Τίμας εἰς τ' ἔπεμψ'*, introducing *Timas*  
 from *Fragm 164* See Edm 144 and *Proc Class Assoc 1921*

Athenaeus Sappho in the fifth book of her *Lyrics*, when she is speaking to Aphrodite, calls the *χειρόμακτρα* an adornment of the head

Crimson kerchiefs for thy hair,  
 But should'st thou for these not care,  
 From Phocaea I have sent  
 Costly gifts *for thy content*

<sup>1</sup> Most editors delete the word *καγγόνων* (= on the knees) found here in the MS

## 98

Bergk, 59, Edm 126

*Irregular Ionic, App 23*

*Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν* ,  
*O Sappho, with what prayer address*  
*Aphrodite rich to bless*

## 99

Bergk, 74, Edm 75.

*Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad), App 28*

[<sup>•</sup>Ω *Ψάπφοι*], *σύ τε κάμος θεράπων "Ερος*

The name is added by Edm from the context of Max. Tyrius 24 (18)

*O Sappho*, both thou and thy acolyte Love

## 100

Bergk 64. Edm. 69

*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26*

Pollux 124 Πρωτην δὲ φασι χλαμύδα ονομασαι  
Σαπφῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος εἰποῦσαν

Ελθοντ ἐξ οὐρανῶ πορφύριαν προιέμενον χλαμυν

MS has ἔχοντα after πορφ Scidler reads περθέμενον  
for προιέμενον (MS)

Eros from heaven to earth hath passed

A purple mantle round him cast

## 101

Bergk 132 Edm. 31

Pausanias ix 27 Σαπφῶ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία πολλά τε καὶ  
οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ἔρωτα ᾔσε

Scholiasl *Apoll Rhod* 3 26 Σαπφῶ [γενεαλογεῖ τὸν  
Ἔρωτα] Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ Scholiasl Theocritus 13 2  
Σαπφῶ [τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγει υἱὸν εἶναι] Ἀφροδίτης καὶ  
Οὐρανοῦ

Wilam suggests [ἡ γῆς] after Ἀφροδίτης

Pausanias Sappho the Lesbian has sung many things  
to Love and they do not agree one with another

Scholiasl, *Apoli Rhod*. Sappho makes Love the child  
of Earth and Heaven.

Scholiasl Theocritus Sappho says Love was the son of  
Aphrodite and of Heaven

## 102

Bergk 125 Edm. 28

Maximus Tyrius xiv 9 Διοτίμα λέγει οτι θάλλει  
μὲν Ἔρως ευπορῶν αποθνήσκει δὲ απορῶν τοῦτο Σαπφῶ

συλλαβοῦσα εἶπε γλυκύπικρον (see 46 above) καὶ ἀλγεσί-  
δωρον τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγει Σαπφῶ μυθόπλοκον.

ἀλγεσίδωρον probably the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza.

Maximus Tyrius Diotima (in Plato) says that Love thrives when in affluence, but perishes when in want, compressing this into one word, Sappho called Love "bitter-sweet" (see above 46), and the

Giver of heart-ache

and the

Weaver of fancies

## 103

Bergk, 117, Edm 79

*Choriambic* ? *Apf* 28

Τὸν ἦδ' ὃν παῖδα κάλει

Heyne for MS εον

Whom she calls her child

## 104

Bergk, *Adesp* 129, Edm 134

*Ionic* ? *Apf* 32

Δολοπλόκας γὰρ Κυπρογένεος πρόπολον . . .

From Aristotle, *Eth* 1149b, and Hesych *Κυπρογενέος πρόπολον*.

Minster he of the Cyprus-born,

That weaver of wiles

## 105

Bergk, 135, Edm 33

Scholiast, Hesiod, *Op* 73. Σαπφῶ φησι τὴν Πειθῶ  
Ἀφροδίτης θυγατέρα

Persuasion, the daughter of Aphrodite

## 106

Bergk 57 A Edm 24

*Logaoedic ? App 22*

Philodemus *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* speaking of Hecate goes on to say [*Σαπ*]φω δὲ τ[ὴν θεόν] φησι

*Χρυσοφάη θεράπαιναν Ἀφροδίτας*

Some think that τ[ὴν] *Πειθω* is to be supplied

Philodemus calls the Goddess (? Hecate or Persuasion)

Aphrodite's handmaid golden-shining

## 107

Ox. Pap 1231 1 = Pap d. Soc. Ital 1 123 Edm 40  
Reconstructed by Wilamowitz Vitelli Edmonds and others

*Sapphic App 16*

*Πλάσιον δὴ μ[οι] κατ' ὄναρ παρίστα]  
πόττι Ἡρα σὰ χ[α]ρλεσσα μόρφα]  
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρεΐδαι πρῶ]  
τοὶ βασιλῆες*

5 *ἐκτελέσσαντες γ[ὰρ] Ἄρεος ἔργον]  
πρῶτα μὲν πα[ρ] ὠκυρόω Σκαμανδρῶ]  
τυλὶδ' ἀπορμάθε[ντες] ὁδὸν περαινῆν]  
οὐκ ἔδυναντο*

*πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δι' ἀντ[ρό]μενοι κάλεσσαν]  
10 καὶ Θικωνας ἡμ[ε]ρόβεντα παιδα]  
νῦν δὲ κ[αὶ] σὺ τῶνδε λίτων ἀκουσον]  
κάτ' τὸ πά[ροι]θε]  
ἀγνα καὶ καλ  
πάρθ[ε]νοι]*

3 Edm. κλῆτοι.

6 Wilam.

7 Vitelli ἐπ' ὀκον Ισην Diehl ἐς Ἀργος ἔλθην

10 i.e. Diogenes.

12 Diehl and Lobel ἐδλαιοι

15 [ἀμ]φι[σ]

ἀν ιλ

ἔμμεν[αι] .

30 ρα πι

Vitelli gives a Scholion at the beginning *N τῶμον*  
(= Nikander ?).

O Queenly Hera, *in a dream by night*  
*Beside me stood thy form, a lovely sight,*  
Whom the Atridae, sovrans of the host,  
Saw when their need was most ;

When *Aies' work* on Troy-town they had wrought,  
And first from swift Skamander's stream they sought  
*Home to return again,* they might not find  
*The way's end they designed,*

Until to Zeus most high they *called for aid,*  
And to Thyone's lovely child they prayed ,  
So now *do thou too to our prayers give ear,*  
As when thou erst didst hear

*For pure and holy are the things I ask,*  
*Such as a maiden may Be it thy task*  
*Without or grudge or question to fulfil*  
*Thy suppliant servant's will*

## 108

Bergk, 147 , Edm 172

Himerius, *Orat* 13, 7 'Ο Μουσαγέτης, οἶον αὐτὸν καὶ  
Σαπφῶ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾧδῇ κόμῃ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύραις  
κοσμήσαντες κύκνοις ἔποχον εἰς Ἑλίκωνα πέμπουσιν,  
Μούσαις Χάρισί τε ὁμοῦ συγχορεύοντα

Edm for συγχορεύσαντα

Himerius The Leader of the Muses (i.e. Apollo) such as he appears when both Sappho and Pindar in a poem deck him with golden hair and lyres and send him to Helicon in a chariot drawn by swans to dance there with the Muses and Graces

## 109

Bergk 82 Edm 127

*Dactylic or Anapaestic* *Apb* 34

Hephaestion 85 writing of heterogeneous (ασυναρτήτων) metres says that a certain heterogeneous line can have its first half divided as a three foot anapaestic if it begins with a spondee like Sappho's

Αὐτὰ δὲ σὺ Καλλιόπῃ

MS τρίτον ἀναπαιστικόν οὐ τρίμετρον ἀνάπαιστον

And thou thyself Kalliope

## 110

Ox Pap 1787 4.

*Choriambic?* *Apb* 25 ff

οἶτα

[Ἀνδ]ρομέ[δ']

δ ἔλασ

ρο ἤνεμε

5 Ψάπφοι σὲ φίλῃ

Κύπρῳ βασιλῇ

καί τοι μέγα δ

ὅσοις Φαέθων

πάντα κλέος

10 καί σ' ἐν Ἀχέρ[οντος]

ρ νπ

This poem looks as if it was full of interest, but it is too fragmentary to be of much use to us Sappho is addressed (or addresses herself) as in 3<sup>20</sup> and 7<sup>5</sup> Andromeda, who may be the heroine (see 39<sup>5</sup>), Aphrodite, and Phaethon made a piquant combination, with Acheron to conclude with

## 111

Bergk, 31 and 143, Edm 140, 168  
*Hexameter, App 33*

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταίραι.

Leto and Niobe once were the dearest pair of companions

Gellius, xx, 7, says that Sappho (no doubt in this poem) described Niobe as mother of nine sons and nine daughters

## 112

Bergk, 56, 112, Edm 97, 62, two Fragments united  
*Choriambic? App 28*

φαῖσι δὴ ποτα Λήδαν ὑακινθίνοις  
 [ἄνθεσ'] ὥιον εὖρην πεπυκάδμενον  
 ὥϊω πόλυ λευκότερον

1 Herm for ὑακίνθινον Herm [ἄνθεσι] Some MS also have πόταμον Eustath (*Od xi*), 1686, says that S here deals with the story of the Dioscuri

Once on a day, as they do tell,  
 With clustering hyacinths nestled round  
 Leda an egg far whiter found  
 Than any egg of whitest shell

## 113

Bergk, 145, Edm 170  
 Servius Verg, *Ecl vi*, 42 Prometheus post factos a

se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse et adhibita facula ad rotam solis ignem furatus quem hominibus indicavit. Ob quam causam irati dii duo mala immiserunt terris febres et morbos sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant.

For *febres* perhaps *feminas* as Bergk but cf Hor  
*Od* 1 3 29

Servius Prometheus after fashioning man is said to have climbed up to Heaven by Minerva's aid and applying a torch to the sun's disk to have stolen fire which he made known to men. The gods being angry in consequence sent two evils upon the earth fevers and diseases as Sappho and Hesiod relate

## 114

Bergk 134 Edm. 167

Scholias Apoll. Rhod. iv 57 *Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ἔρωτος ιστοροῦσι Σαπφώ καὶ Νικάνδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Εὐρώπης λέγεται δὲ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο το αὐτρον (Λάτμιον) τὴν Σελήνην πρὸς Ἐνδυμῖωνα*

Cf Eudocia 148

Scholias, Apoll. Rhod. Sappho and Nikander (in the Second Book of his *Europha*) tell of the love of Selene. She is said to have come down to Endymion in this (Latmian) cave

## 115

Bergk 144 Edm. 169

Servius Verg. *Aen* vi 21 *Quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipere volunt quod et Plato dicit in Phaedone et Sappho in Lyncis quos liberavit secum Theseus*



Servius . Some will have this to mean that there were seven boys and seven girls, as Plato says in his *Phaedo* and Sappho in her *Lyrics*, whom Theseus set free at the same time as himself

## 116

Bergk, 62<sup>n</sup>, Edm 104

Pausanias, ix, 29, 8 (cf 1, 29, 2) *Πάμφως δὲ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους, Οἰτολίνον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτολίνου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Οἰτολίνον ᾄσε*

Pausanias Pamphōs, who composed for the Athenians their oldest hymns, called Linus in the passage, where the mourning over him was at its height, Oitolinus (*Dead Linus*), and Sappho, learning the name from the verses of Pamphōs, sang of Adonis and Oitolinus together.

## 117

Edm , p 156

Philostratus, *Vit Apollonii*, 1, 30 *‘Ο Ἀπολλώνιος καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν “Ἡρου με,” ἔφη, ‘πρώην, ὅτι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικὶ ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι συνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφουὺς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε συνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῳδῆται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῶων ᾄσται’*

Philostratus Apollonius, calling Damis, said, You asked me the other day what was the name of the Pamphylian lady, who is said to have associated with

Sappho and to have composed the hymns which they sing to Artemis of Perga in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes      Well this talented woman was called Damophyla and she is said to have had girls as associates like Sappho and like her composed poems some love poems and others hymns to the gods      The hymns to Artemis were written by her in imitation of Sappho and followed the Sapphic model

## EPITHALAMIA

It is supposed that Sappho's wedding songs were collected together in a separate book, perhaps the eighth or ninth and last, at the end of the edition of her poems which was arranged according to subjects

The writing of these epithalamia, or bridal songs, for friends and clients in Lesbos and elsewhere was an important and possibly lucrative part of Sappho's professional work

Some of these were processional, for use when the bride was being escorted in a chariot to the bridegroom's house by relations and friends carrying torches, singing to the music of flutes, and jesting, while flowers were thrown at the "happy pair" At the bridegroom's house they were received by the mother-in-law, and sweetmeats, as we use rice, were showered upon them as a symbol of plenty The banquet, if it had not already taken place at the bride's house, was now celebrated A second wedding song could be sung at this point

But the real epithalamium was sung outside the bridal chamber, when the *θυρωρός*, the bridegroom's friend, had shut the door and stood guard before it, the girl-friends of the bride being supposed to make attempts to rescue her from the clutches of the male These are the mock combats referred to on such occasions, at which the *θυρωρός* was subjected to jests and satirical remarks, from which the bridegroom himself was by no means exempt

The bridegroom was called *νυμφίος*, but Sappho uses the word *γαμβρός* (son-in-law), and the best man was named *παρανύμφιος* The word *ὑμέναιος* describes the whole musical part of the ceremonies, but especially

1



2



3



4



5



6



All these except No. 4 are from the Vienna Museum, being  
IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE AND ERESUS

No. 4 is Syracusan coin at Paris

[See p 150



the wedding song and not seldom the god of marriage. These wedding rites were essentially religious in character and began with sacrifices to Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite, Urania, and Persuasion, the daughter of Aphrodite as she was called.

The epithalamium proper which was sung before the bridal chamber at night (sometimes a song at dawn) was accompanied with dancing. The chorus consisted of girls and young men who answered one another. We trace this dialogue form in some of our fragments and it is possible that even the bride took part in them.

The favourite month for marriages was Gamelion (from γάμος) which corresponded to the end of January and the beginning of February.

We can get some idea of what Sappho's wedding songs in their entirety may have been like from Catullus who evidently had Sappho before his eyes in his *Carmen Nuptiale* and his *Juliae et Manliae Epithalamium*. For Greek examples we have the exquisite *Epithalamium of Helen* by Theocritus and the concluding passage in the *Peace* of Aristophanes.

Aristaenetus<sup>1</sup> a writer of imaginary letters tells us that the epithalamia of Sappho opened with an invocation of the Muses and Graces. This was followed by the praises of bride and bridegroom. There seems also to have been a part composed by Sappho to do duty at all weddings.

Himerius<sup>2</sup> the rhetorician who wrote a hundred and fifty years earlier<sup>3</sup> has given us a detailed and rather florid description of the technique of Sappho's wedding songs as follows —

<sup>1</sup> Aristaenetus, I, 10 (a.d. 450)

<sup>2</sup> Himerius, *Orat.* I, 41.

Bergk, 93. Edm. p. 174

“ From the poets themselves we can learn how difficult it is to find a melody tender (*ἄπαλόν*) enough to please the Goddess with the song For methinks the majority of these, though adepts in love-poetry, have pictured Hera indeed with all the hardihood of boys and girls, but left the mysteries of Aphrodite wholly to Sappho for the song to the lyre and the composition of the epithalamium It is she who after the (mock) combats enters the bridal precincts, decorates the room, spreads the couch, marshals the maidens into the bridal chamber, brings Aphrodite in her car of Graces, and a bevy of Loves to play with her She twines the bride's hair with hyacinths, except where the forehead parts it, the rest she lets the breezes ruffle gently as they list, but the wings of the Loves and their locks she decks with gold, and despatches them before the car as an escort waving their torches on high ”

“ It was Sappho's way, then, to liken the maiden to an apple, giving to those who were eager to pick it before it was ripe thus much grace as to taste it [not even] with their finger-tips, but to him that looked to gather the fruit in due season, so much as to wait for the prime of its beauty

“ And it was her way to liken the bridegroom to Achilles and to compare the youthful bridegroom's achievements to those of the hero ”

We find also a bridal invocation in Himerius,<sup>1</sup> which may have been an imitation of Sappho —

“ O Bride, within whose breast  
The rosy Loves make nest,  
O Bride, of Paphos' Queen  
The loveliest likeness seen,

<sup>1</sup> Himerius, *ibid*, § 6

Go to thy marriage bed  
 Go to the couch now spread  
 Thy bridegroom there to meet  
 And share in dalliance sweet.  
 And may bright Hesper guide  
 Thee willing to his side  
 Looking with wondering prayer  
 On Hera's silver chair  
 That yokes each wedded pair

It is supposed that Sappho drew upon Folk Songs for appropriate metre and phrasing and expressions in her bridal ditties.

## 118

Bergk 84 Edm. 129  
*Trochaic App* 35<sup>a</sup> 36

*Δεῦρο δεῦτε Μοῖσαι χρύσιον λίποισιν.*

MS δεῦτε Heph. 106 calls the metre two ithyphallics  
 Hither again O Muses come  
 Leaving on high your golden home!

## 119

Bergk 65 Edm. 68  
*Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App* 26

Heph. 35 says that the whole of Sappho's third book was in this metre

*Βροδοπάχαις αγναι Χάριτες δεῦτε Δίος κόραι*

Schol. Theocr. 28 (which is full of Sapphic words) says that Idyll is written in this sixteen syllable Sapphic metre

Neither this nor the preceding need of course be the opening of a bridal song but it seems possible see above p. 151

Ye rose armed virgin Graces three  
 Daughters of Zeus come hither to me!



## 120

Bergk, 60, Edm 101

*Choriambic, App 27*

Horace, *Od* 1, 8, uses this metre, the greater Sapphic,  
but he makes the third syllable long

*Δεῦτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες, καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι*

Ye delicate Graces three,

And ye Muses fair

With your lovely hair,

Come hither, I pray, to me

## 121\*

Bergk, 103, Edm 160

*Trochaic, App 35, 37*

*Χαίροις, ᾶ νύμφα, χαιρέτω δ' ὁ γάμβρος*

MS *χαίροις ἀνύμφα*, Neue *Χαίροισθα* Cf Theocr 18,  
49 Possibly the ᾶ may be counted short, as Edm  
All hail to the bride, to the bridegroom all hail!

## 122

Bergk, 105, Edm 162

*Logaoedic, App 19*

. . . *Χαῖρε, νύμφα,*  
*Χαῖρε, τίμιε γάμβρε, πόλλα*

Called by Heph 56 the nine-syllabled Sapphic

All welcome, Bride, to thee!

Thou, honoured Bridegroom, welcome be!

## 123

Bergk, 106, Edm 163

*Choriambic, App 26*

*Οὐ γάρ [ἐστ'] ἀτέρα νῦν πάις, ᾧ γάμβρε, τοαῦτα*

\*H<sub>1</sub> is given by one MS instead of *νῦν*. It is difficult to follow the remarks of Dionys *Com* p 25 on the metre.

There is no maid beside  
O bridegroom like thy bride

## 124

Bergk 99 Edm 155

*Logaoedic* *Apb* 19

Ολβιε γάμβρε σοι μὲν δη γάμος ως αραο  
ἐκτετέλεισθ' ἐχης δὲ πάρθειον· ἀν' αραο

For repetition cf 125 and Hor *Od* 1 13 1 2 For  
ολβιε cf Theocr *Epith Hel* 16

O happy bridegroom now  
The marriage rites are done  
Thou prayedst for and thou  
The prayed for maid hast won

## 125\*

Bergk 104 Edm 161

*Logaoedic?* *Apb* 34

Τίω σ' ὦ φίλε γαμβρε κάλως εἰκάσδω;  
ὄρπακι βραδύνω σε κάλιστ' εἰκάσδω

1 See note on 124

Dear Bridegroom in what likeness were it well  
Thy praise in song to tell?  
To the fresh tender sapling of a tree  
I best may liken thee

## 126

Bergk 100 Edm 158

*Logaoedic* *Apb* 19

Choncius apud *Graux Textes Grecs* 97 *Εγω οὖν*  
τὴν νυμφὴν Σαπφικῇ μελωδίᾳ κοσμήσω

Σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος ὄππατα τ' . . .  
 μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἱμέρτῳ κέχυται προσώπῳ,  
 καί σε τετίμακ' ἐξόχως Ἀφροδίτα

MS μελιχρ(ά) Cf Catull 48, 1, mellitos oculos, and 61, 194, Pulcher es, neque te Venus neglegit. The second line is quoted by Heph 102, as μελλίχοος δ' κ.τ λ.

Choricius I therefore will honour the bride with a Sapphic melody —

Thy form is full of grace,  
 Tender thine eyes and sweet, and love  
 O'er-floods thy charming face,  
 And Aphrodite's *grace* all else above  
 Gives thee the foremost place

## 127

Bergk, 93<sup>2</sup>, Edm 157

*Hexameter* <sup>2</sup> *Aph* 33

Himerius, *Orat* 1, 19 φέρε οὖν εἴσω τοῦ θαλάμου  
 παράγοντες τὸν λόγον ἐντυχεῖν τῷ κάλλει τῆς νύμφης  
 πείσομεν

ὦ κάλα, ὦ χαρίεσσα [κόρα]

πρέπει γάρ σοι τὰ τῆς Λεσβίας ἐγκώμια · σοὶ μὲν  
 γὰρ ῥοδόσφυροι χάριτες χρυσῇ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ συμπαίζουσιν.

Cf Theoc, *Epith Helen* 38

Himerius. Come, then, taking our discourse into the  
 bridal chamber, we will prevail on it to invoke the  
 beauty of the bride,

O beautiful, O passing sweet !

For the praises of the Lesbian poetess become thee, for  
 with thee indeed sport the rosy-ankled Graces and golden  
 Aphrodite

128

Bergk 83 Edm 128

*Hexameter* ? *App* 33

[*Nūn*] δαύοις ἀπάλας ἐτάρας ἐν στήθεσι

δαύω used only here by Sappho

In sweet sleep may'st thou rest  
On thy soft comrade's breast !

129

Bergk 95 Edm 149

*Hexameter* *App* 33

Ἔσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ αὖτως  
φέρεις οἶν φέρεις αἶγα φέρεις τ' ἀπυ μᾶτερι παιδα

2 Bergk for MS. φέρεις δ' αὖν Bergk. For MS. δ' αὖν See Catull.  
62, 10

All that the glittering morn hath driven afar  
Thou callest home O evening Star !  
Thou callest sheep thou callest kid to rest  
And children to their mother's breast

130

Bergk 133 Edm 32

*Sapphic* *App* 16

Himerus *Ora* xiii 9 Ἀστήρ οἶμαι σὺ τις ἑσπέριος

Ἀστέρων πάντων ὁ κάλυστος

Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ εἰς Ἑσπερον ᾄσμα

Cf Himer iii 17 Catull. 62 20

Himerus Thou art in some sort methinks an evening  
star

Fairest of all the stars  
As Sappho says in her song to Hesperus

## 131

Bergk, 102, Edm 159

*Hexameter ? Apb 33*

Ἦρ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι ,

Hoffm reads παρθενίκας from Scholiast, Dion Thrax  
See Bergk

Can it be that I still for my maidenhead long ?

## 132\*

Bergk, 96, Edm 152

*Hexameter ? Apb 33*

ἀιπάρθενος ἔσσομαι

Ever-a-maid shall I be

## 133

Bergk, 93, Edm 150 Sung by chorus of maidens

*Hexameter, Apb 33*

Scholiast Hermogenes, *Rhet Gr* vii, 953, Walz Αἱ μὲν  
γὰρ τῶν ἰδεῶν μονοειδεῖς ἔχουσι τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ὅσαι  
τὰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡδέα ἐκφράζουσιν ὅψει ἀκοῇ ὁσφρήσει  
γένυσει ἀφῇ, ὡς . καὶ Σαπφώ

Οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρω ἐπ' ὕσδω  
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπης  
οὐ μὲν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι

Catull in his *Epith* 61, 88, 62, 48, has these lines and  
134 in mind

Scholiast Hermogenes For some sorts of style have  
to do with thoughts of one kind only and as many as  
express things pleasing to the senses, sight, hearing, smell,  
taste, touch, as and Sappho —

As a sweet-apple rosy, O Maid, art thou,  
At the uttermost tip of the uttermost bough,  
Unseen in the autumn by gatherer's eyes—  
Nay seen, but only to tantalize

## 134\*

Bergk 94 Edm 151 Sung by chorus of youths.

*Hexameter Apb* 33

Demetrius *Eloc* 106 Τὸ δὲ ἐπιφώνημα καλουμένον  
ορίζοιτο μὲν ἂν τις λέξιν ἐπικοσμοῦσαν ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ  
μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς γὰρ λέξεως ἡ  
μὲν ὑπηρέτει ἡ δὲ ἐπικοσμεῖ ὑπηρετεῖ μὲν ἢ τοιάδε  
οἶαν καταστείβουσι\* ἐπικοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενοι  
το χαμαὶ ἄνθος ἐπετηγύγεται τοῦτο τοῖς προλε  
λεγμένοις κόσμος σαφῶς καὶ κάλλος καὶ καθόλου τὸ  
ἐπιφώνημα τοῖς τῶν πλουσίῳ εἰκεν ἐπιδείγμασιν οἷον  
γάρ τι καὶ αὐτο τοῦ ἐν λόγοις πλουτοῦ σημειὸν ἔστι

Οἶαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὄρρεσι ποίμινες ἄνδρες  
πόσσι καταστείβοισι χάμαι δὲ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος

1 Cf. note to 133

2 πόρφυρον for πορφέριον not Sapphic says Lobel.

Demetrius The *epiphonema* as it is called one might define as a phrase that embellishes and it is of the highest importance in producing elevation of style for one part of the phrase ministers to the thought the other embellishes it A case of the former is this As a hyacinth etc. while the embellishment comes in with the following clause Embellishment and beauty clearly result from the addition made to the preceding words and in general the epiphonema is on a par with the displays of the rich For indeed it may be said to be in itself a mark of wealth in words —

Like a hyacinth flower on the mountain side  
Trod down by the shepherd's feet in the clay  
On the earth lies fading its purple pride.

## 135

Bergk 109 Edm. 164

*Choriambic Apb* 27

Παρθενία, Παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποις' [ἀπ]οίχῃ ,  
 Οὐκετι πρόσ σ', οὐκετι πρόσ σ' ἤξω

2 MS οὐκέτι ἤξω πρόσ σε, οὐκέτι ἤξω

*The Bride* Why hast thou left me? Whither fled,  
 O maidenhead, O maidenhead?

*Her Virginity* Ah, never more, O maiden mine,  
 Shall I be thine, shall I be thine!

This would be a morning welcome

## 136

Bergk, 91, Edm 148

*Hexameter with ιεφιαιν, Arph 33*

Demetrius, *Eloc* 148 Ἔστι δέ τις ἰδίως χάρις  
 , Σαπφική ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅταν τι εἰποῦσα μεταβάλληται καὶ  
 ὥσπερ μετανόησῃ οἶον . ὥσπερ ἐπιλαμβανομένη ἑαυτῆς  
 ὅτι ἀδυνάτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῷ Ἀρηϊ  
 ἵσος ἐστί

Ἴψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον—Ἵμῆναον  
 ἀέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες—Ἵμῆναον  
 γάμβρος Φίσσος Ἀρεν(ι)—[Ἵμῆναον]  
 ἄνδρος μεγάλῳ πόλῳ μέσδων—[Ἵμῆναον]

5 ἔρχεται

1 Or ἵψοι

3 Cf Hom, *Od* viii, 115 Lobel says Sappho only uses ἵσος

5 In MS ἔρχεται follows γάμβρος

Demetrius There is a grace of style, characteristic of Sappho, arising from her changing an expression, when after saying something, she takes it back and as it were alters her mind, for instance (as below), pulling herself up as it were, because she has used an impossible exaggeration, no one being as tall as Ares

Raise high, ye workmen all,

The roof-tree of the hall

Sing, sing the wedding song!

For more than mortals tall  
 Like Ares in the throng  
 The bridegroom comes along  
 Sing sing the wedding song!

## 137

Bergk 92 Edm. 148

*Hexameter* *Apb* 33

Πέρροχος ως ὅτ' αἰδοῖς ὁ Λέσβιος αλλοδαποῖσιν

Pre-eminent art thou as when

The Lesbian bard outsings all other men

Possibly Terpander is meant

## 138 and 139\*

Bergk 98 Edm. 154

*Aeolic Tetrameter* *Apb* 34

Demetrius *Eloc* 167 Ἀλλως δὲ σκωπτεῖ Σαπφῶ

τὸν ἀγροικὸν νυμφίον καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις  
 εὐτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πύξοις ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς  
 ὥστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἔστι τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι  
 ἢ ἀδεῶν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρμόσαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ἢ πρὸς τὴν λύραν  
 εἰ μή τις εἰη χαρὸς διαλεκτικός

Θυρωρῶ πόδες ἑμπορογυιοὶ

τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόγη

πίσσυγγοὶ δὲ δέκ' ἔξεπόνασαν

Synesius *Ep* 3 158

Ὁ δὲ ἀδικούμενος Ἀρμόνιος ἔστιν ὁ τοῦ Θυρωροῦ  
 πατήρ ὡς ἂν εἴποι Σαπφῶ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ σωφρων καὶ  
 μέτριος ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίῳ γενόμενος ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐγενείας  
 ἀμφισβητῶν τῷ Κέκροπι διετίλεσεν



Demetrius In another style Sappho chaffs the boorish bridegroom and the keeper of the door at the wedding in the most everyday terms, and such as are more fitted for prose than poetry. Consequently these poems of hers are better spoken than sung, and would not be adapted for a chorus or the lyre unless, indeed, it were a chorus that conversed in dialogue.

Seven fathoms are his feet,  
The keeper's of the door,  
Five hides they need complete,  
And cobblers half a score

Synesius The man that is wronged is Harmonius, the father of Thyrōrus, who, as Sappho would say, though in all other respects he lived soberly and honestly all his days, yet in respect of descent never ceased to dispute it with Cecrops himself.

### 140a, b

Bergk, 51, Edm 146

*Logaoedic, but see App 24*

Athen x, 425 C, xi, 475 A

- (a) κῆ δ' ἀμβροσίας μὲν κράτηρ ἐκέκρατο,  
"Ερμας δ' ἔλεν ἔρπιν θεοῖσ' οἶνοχόησαι,  
(b) κῆνοι δ' ἄρα πάντες καρχάσι' ὄνηχον  
καἄλειβον, ἀράσαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔσλα  
γάμβρω

2 ἔρπιν said to be an Egyptian word for wine v l ὄλπιν = a bowl

3 καρχ ὄνηχον Hoffm Edm

At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, or possibly Heracles and Hebe?

- (a) There stood the ambrosia mingled in the cup  
And Hermes for the gods their wine did pour  
(b) And then they all held each his goblet up  
And due libation made  
And for the bridegroom prayed  
Of all good things and fair a plenteous store.

## 141

Ox. Pap 1232 1 Edm 66

*Logaoedic Arp* 34

The home-coming of Hector with his bride  
Andromache to Troy

Κυπρo

κᾱρυξ ἤλθε θ[έλω]

Ιδαος· τα δὲ κα

αι

ελε θεις

φ[αι]εις τάχυσ αγγελος

τᾱς τ αλλας Λαιας τδ ἔσαν κλέος ἀφθιτον

- 5 Εκτωρ καὶ συγγίταιροι ἀγοισ ἐλικωπιδα  
Θήβας ἐξ ἰδρος Πλακίας τ απ α[ἱ]νῶ  
αβραν Ανδρομάχαν εἰν ταῦσι ἐπ αλμυροι  
πότον· πόλλα δ [ἐλ]γῆματα χρυσια καμματα  
πορφυρα κάλα τ αὐ τ[ρό]να ποίκιλ αθύρματα  
10 ἀργύρ[α τ] ἀνάριθμα ποτηρια καλέφαις  
ως εἶπ οτραλλως δ ὀνόρουσε πάτηρ φίλος  
φάμα δ ἤλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρυχ[ορο]ν φίλοις  
αυτικ Ιλιάδαι σατιναις υπ ἐϋτρόχοις  
ἀγον αιμιότοις ἐπέβαινε δὲ παις οχλος  
15 γυναικων τ αμα παρθενίκαν τε τ[αν]υσφύρων  
χωρις [δ] αὖ Περάμοιο θυγατρεις [ἐπ]ή[ϊ]σαι  
ἱπ[ο]ις δ ανδρες υπαγον υπ αρ[μα]τ υμοι δ εβαν  
π[ᾶν]τες ἡἱθεοι μεγαλωσσι δ  
δ ανίοχοι φ  
20 π ἔξαγον

unknown number of lines lost .

- . . . ἵκελοι θεοῖς  
 . . . ἄγνον ἀόλ[λεες]  
 ὄρμαται . . . [κλει]νον ἐς Ἴλιον  
 αὖλος δ' ἀδυμέλη . . . τ' ὀνεμίγνυ[το]  
 25 καὶ ψόφο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων] . . . ὡς δ' ἄρα πάρθενοι  
 αἶδον μέλος ἄγν[ον] . . . ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἶθ[ερα]  
 ἄχω θεσπεσί[α] γεγ  
 πάντα δ' ἦς κατ' ὁδο[ις]  
 κράτηρες φίαλαί τ' ο . . . νυεδε . . . ακ  
 30 [φοῖνιξ] καὶ κισία λίβανος τ' ὀνεδείχνυτο  
 γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυξαν ὅσαι προγενέστεραι,  
 πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπήρατον ἵαχον ὄρθιον  
 πάων' ὀγκαλέοντες Ἐκάβολον εὐλύραν  
 ὕμνην δ' Ἐκτορα καὶ Ἀνδρομάχαν θεοϊκέλο[ις]

Σαφοῦς μέλη  
 (οἱ μελῶν) β'

A swift messenger from Ida heralds the approach of Hector, and his bride Andromache—the deathless glory of Asia

- 5 " See Hector with his trusty comrades brings  
 From sacred Thebes and Placia's living springs  
 The delicate bright-eyed Andromache  
 In ships that sail upon the briny sea ,  
 And many a golden bracelet do they bear,  
 10 And many a purple robe and broidery fair,  
 And countless silver cups and ivory chased "

4 Lobel reads δὲ γὰρ

6 ἱαρ corr in MS from ἱέρας

8 In ἔμματα the digamma is disregarded, as in ἐλικώπιδα ἐλιγμ = ψέλια Hesych see Wilam

9 Edm ἀθρήματα from Hesychius τρόνα Lobel (Hesych ), see Homer, *Il* x, 441 But in his new edition Lobel gives κατ' αὐτμένα

- He spake and Hector's dear sire rose in haste  
 While through the wide ways to their loved ones ran  
 The tidings and of Ilion's sons each man  
 15 Put mules to the swift cars wherein the throng  
 Of dames and slim foot maids should ride along  
 And Priam's daughters had their place apart  
 And lusty youths yoked chariots for the start  
*And down the sounding streets of spacious Troy*  
 20 The charioteers raced in their reckless joy

- And as to famous Troy like gods they rode*  
*Around the chariot wheels there ever flowed*  
*A stream of people cheering as they went*  
*In one great happy throng together blent*  
 25 *And the sweet flute with castanets did vie*  
*And maids sang sacred songs that reached the sky*  
*And thankful prayers to all the Gods were made*

- And incense cast on altars as they prayed  
 The elder women raised a joyful cry  
 30 While from the men the lovely paean high  
 To Phoebus of the tuneful lyre outrang  
 As god like Hector and Andromache they sang

This piece is epic rather than lyrical and Wilam.  
 judges it away from Sappho

14 αἶμαρ Cf. Ox. Pap. 1233 l. 2, 13

16 Παρθένου Epic Genitive ἑστῶτα Wilam

18 ἥθεος Epic for αἶθεος Aeol.

21 Cf. 63.

28 φείνη Jurenka. Lobel μέγα.

28 Corrected from ἀεδίζοντα. The δ might be λ.

29 Corrected from ἐλλανέον

31 MS πῶτα.

32 Imp. from ὁμῆμι, ὁμῶα = ὁμῶτα

## 142

Ox Pap 1231, 56; Edm 47

*Sapphic, App 16*

- . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 νύκτ . . . . .  
 5 πάρθενοι δι . . . . .  
 παννυχίσδομεν . . . . .  
 σὰν ἀεῖδοι[σαι φιλότατα καὶ νύμ-]  
 φας ἰοκόλῳ  
 ἀλλ' ἐγέρθει[ς] . . . . .  
 10 στείχε σοῖς [φίλοις]  
 ἤπερ ὅσσον ἂ . . . . .  
 ὕπνον ἴδωμεν

*Μελῶν α'**χηγηδῶ\**

4 α might be μ, but the τ c can't be φ

7 Wilam of Theocrt, 18, 51

9 Or ἐγέρθητ

\* i.e. 1320 lines in Book I

According to a note that follows this poem, it must have been the last of the first Book, which we know was composed of poems in the Sapphic stanza. But the words which are preserved seem to point to its being, like the next, a bridal song. The epithalamia, however, were in one recension of Sappho's poems grouped together in a separate book (viz. the 8th or 9th)

## 143

Ox Pap 1232, 1, Edm 65

*Logaedic 2 App 34*

5

λε γὰρ  
 κάλος  
 ἀκαλα κλόνει  
 κάματος φρένα[ς]  
 εἰ κατισδάνει  
 ἀλλ' αἶγι' ὦ φίλαι  
 ἀγχι γὰρ ἀμέρα

6 Corrected to φρένα.

8 = ἄγετε

9 Possibly the words Σαφούς μελῶν follow this poem.

The concluding words seem to show that this like the last may be a bridal song—a welcome at the bride's door or window in the early hours of the morning. Compare 135 above.

## 144

Bergk 89 Edm 105

*Choriambic Aḡp* 26

Pollux vii 73 Ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Σαφούς Μελῶν  
 εἰσιν εὐρεῖν

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄβροισιν λασίοισιν εὖ ἐπυκάσσει

Pollux In the Fifth Book of Sappho's Lyrics we find

And linen soft she wound

Thy dainty limbs around

## 145

Bergk 50 Edm 56 Herodian 39 27 from the  
 second Book of Sappho

*Logaoedic?* *Aḡp* 34

ἔγω δ' ἐπὶ μολθάκαν

τύλαν κασπολέω μέλε

2 Hermann for MS. σπολέω.

On a soft cushion prest  
I lay thy limbs to rest

## 146

Bergk, 81, Edm 57

*Ionian* ? *Apb* 32

Κὰμ μὲν τε τύλαν κασπολέω

MS καὶ μὲν τε τυλαγκας ἀσπόλεα

Down indeed the cushion will I lay.

## 147

Bergk, 19, Edm 20

ποῖδας δὲ  
ποίκιλος μάσλης ἐκάλυπτε, Λύδι-  
ον κάλον ἔργον

2 = μάσθλης

Upon her feet a spangled leather band,  
The fair work of a Lydian hand

## 148

Bergk, 43, Edm 141

*Sapphic*, *Apb* 34

ὅτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει  
[ὄππατ' ἄωρος]

2 Bergk, but placed here by Edm

And sleep the whole night round  
Their eyes fast closed hath bound

## 149

Bergk, 57, Edm 141a

*Dactylic*, *Apb* 34

Ὅφθαλμοις δὲ μέλαις [χύτο] νύκτος ἄωρος

If *χυτο* be omitted *ὀφθαλμοῖς* would = *ὀφθαλμούς*  
 And on their heavy eyes  
 The night's dark slumber lies

## 149a

Bergk 66 Edm 70

*Choriambic App* 26

ὁ δ' Ἀρεὺς φαῖτοί κεν Ἀφαιστον ἀγὴν βίῃ  
 But Ares makes his brag  
 By force Hephaestus *he could drag*

## 150

Bergk 97 Edm 153

*Hexameter App* 33

Δωσομεν ἦτοι πᾶτερ

Gifts will we give quoth the father

## 151

Bergk 23 Edm 23.

*Sapphic App* 16

Καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι

On a red figured amphora are depicted a player on the cithara and a youth reclining opposite who says MAME ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΕΙΟ, see Kretschmer *Vasen Inschriften* p 86

I love and I long

## 152

Bergk 20 Edm 21

*Sapphic App* 16

παντοδᾶπαισι μεμειγμένα χροταῖσι

Quoted by Schol. Apoll. Rhod 1 727 in reference to Jason's mantle.



A coat of many colours blent

The Scholiast contrasts Sappho's description of the cloak with that of Apollonius who says that it was red

## 153

Bergk, 25 , Edm 50

*Dactylic, App 34*

Possibly the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza, but it might be the end of a hexameter line

*Ἵς θέλει ὕμνες*

Quoted, with οὔτι μοι ὕμνες (see Bergk, 23 , Edm 49), as from Sappho, Bk II The latter is found in Hom , *Il* 1, 335

While you are willing

## 154

Bergk, 168 , Edm 132

*Ionic ? App 32 It might be Iambic or begin an Alcaic line, see App 21*

*Τίοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν . . .*

With what eyes shall I behold ?

## 155

Bergk, 115 , Edm 27

*Ὅπταις ἄμμε*

Probably Aphrodite or Eros is addressed

Our heart thou scorcest

## 156\*

Ox Pap 220, 9 , Edm 113a

*Logaoedic (or Ionic), App 22, 31*

(a) [Εὐδαιμ]ονίαν τε καὶ γέλειαν

*Good fortune and good health.*

(b) [Γῆρας] ζαφύγοιμι παῖδες ἡβὰ  
[κάλλιστον]

*Old age! Ah ye girls may it never be mine!*

*It is youth it is youth that is only divine!*

1 Edm. Blaes reads [Ἐρεκ'] δνίαν and in the next line [δνωσθε]

2 Edm. and Blaes, but Blaes puts γῆρας in a preceding line and reads θάνοισα φῶγ κ τ.λ. Lobel rejects εὐδαιμονίαν

## 157

Bergk 47 Edm 95

*Choriambic Apb* 18<sup>a</sup>

Zenobius *Proo* 1 58 *Ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσῶς τελευτησάντων*  
*ἦτοι ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοτέκνων μὲν τρυφῇ δὲ διαφθειρόντων αὐτὰ*  
*Γέλλω γάρ τις ἦν παρθένος καὶ ἐπειδὴ αἰσῶς ἐτελεύτησε*  
*φασὶν οἱ Λέσβιοι αὐτῆς τὸ φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ παῖδια*  
*καὶ τοὺς τῶν αἰσῶν θανάτους αὐτῇ ἀνατιθέασιν*

*Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα*

Zenobius Used of those who die before their time or of those who are fond of children but ruin them by cosseting them up For Gello was a maid and since she died before her time the Lesbians say that her ghost haunts little children and they put down to her the deaths of those who die before their time

Fonder of children she

Than Gello e'er could be

Zenobius says that Sappho referred to her

## 158

Bergk 116 Edm 131

*Trochaic Apb* 21 35

*Ἡμυτύβιον στάλασσαν*

*A dripping napkin*

Bergk, 122, 123, *Adesp* 76, *Edm* 59, 60, 61

Demetrius *Eloc* 161 Ἐκ δὲ ὑπερβολῶν χάριτες  
 μάλιστα αἱ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις, πᾶσα δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἀδύνατος  
 ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶδους καὶ τὰ  
 τοιαῦτά ἐστιν . καὶ τὰ Σαπφικά

(a) πόλυ πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα

(b) χρύσω χρυσοτέρα

Gregorius ad Hermogen, *Rhet. Gracc* vii, 2236 Walz

Αἰσchrῶς μὲν κολακεύει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκκίνα ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 ἐρωτικά, οἷον τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος, τὰ Σαπρούς οἷον

(c) γάλακτος λευκοτέρα

(d) \*ὔδατος ἀπαλωτέρα

(e) πηκτίδων ἐμμελεστέρα

(f) βρόδων ἀβροτέρα

(g) \*ἱματίου ἔανοῦ μαλακωτέρα

(h) χρύσω τιμιωτέρα

(i) \*ναρκίσσου τερενώτερον

Which of these are from Sappho can only be guessed  
 I leave the non-Aeolic forms of the MS

Cf "Softer than sleep" (*Anth Pal* ix, 567,  
*Theocr* xv, 125), etc It is difficult to see why such  
 expressions should be so severely condemned The  
 instances marked with an asterisk were very possibly by  
 Anacreon, whom Gregorius mentions first

Demetrius From hyperboles arise especially the  
 charms of comedies, and every hyperbole is an  
 impossibility, such as this of Aristophanes Of the  
 same kind are phrases such as , and these of  
 Sappho —

(a) (A girl) Far sweeter-tuned than the lyre ,

(b) ,, More gold than gold

Gregorius The ear is tickled in an unseemly way by such erotic tricks of expression as are found in Anacreon and Sappho as for instance —

- (c) (a girl) Whiter than milk
- (d) Softer than water
- (e) More tuneful than the lyre
- (f) Daintier than roses
- (g) Softer than silk
- (h) More precious than gold
- (i) (A thing) More tender than a narcissus

## 180

Bergk 61 129 Edm 30 102

*Logaoedic*

Philostratus *Imagg* ii 1 Τοσοῦτον ἀμυλλῶνται αἱ παρθένοι ροδοπηγεῖς καὶ ἐλκωπιδες καὶ καλλιπάρηροι καὶ μελίφωνοι Σαφροῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἦδον πρόσφθεγμα

Aristaenetus 1 10 Πρὸ τῆς παστάδος τοὶ υμνισταὶ ἦδον αἱ μουσικωτέραι τῶν παρθένων καὶ μελλιχόφωνότεραι τοῦτο δὴ Σαφροῦς τὸ ἡδιστοὶ φθίγμα

Besides μελλιχόφωνος (or μελίφωνος) and the two other epithets above we find attributed by Atil Fortunat. to Sappho πάρθεον ἀδύφωνοι

For ἐλκωπ see 141, For βροδοπαχ 119 For μελίφωνοι cf Ox Pap 1786 6 and Anth. Pal x 66

Philostratus So vied with one another the maidens rosy armed bright-eyed fair-checked and honey voiced—this is Sappho's sweet appellation

Aristaenetus Before the bridal chamber was sung the wedding song by maidens that were the more musical and sweet voiced—this is Sappho's most sweet expression

A maiden sweet voiced

## 161

Edm , p 173

Demetrius, *Eloc* 132 . *Εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον Νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφουῦς ποίησις*

Demetrius Charm of style may reside in the subject, as in the case of Gardens of the Nymphs, Wedding songs, love episodes—in fact, the whole fabric of Sappho's poetry

## 162

Bergk, 124 , Edm 165

Demetrius, *Eloc* 166 *Διὸ καὶ - ἡ Σαπφὼ περὶ μὲν κάλλους ἄδουσα καλλιεπὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡδεῖα καὶ περὶ ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἔαρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνος, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ εἰργάσατο.*

Demetrius Therefore also Sappho, when she sings of beauty, uses words that are beautiful and sweet, and when she sings, too, of love and of spring and of the halcyon , and woven into the texture of her poetry is every beautiful word, and in some cases she has coined the word herself

## EPIGRAMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO

## 163

Suidas s v *"Εγραψε δὲ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἱάμβους καὶ μονωδίας*

Meleager, Anth Pal iv, Proem̃ 3

*Πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς  
Λείρια, καὶ Σαπφουῦς βαιὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα*

Whether these three epigrams in the Anth Pal were from Meleager's *Wreath* we don't know We may suppose everything of Sappho's would have been taken But these are scarcely worthy of her and unlike her other work See, however, Edm , *Proc Class Assoc* , 1921

## EPIGRAMS

Suidas (*probably a later addition*) Sappho wrote epigrams and iambs and monodies (*her poems were mostly of this last character*)

Meleager    Many a lily here of Anyte  
                 And many an amaryllis tall  
                 Is twined of Moero but Sappho of thee  
                 Few flowers yet they are roses all

Anth Pal vi 269    A note to the MS says not found  
in Michael's copy    Bergk 118    Edm 143  
*Elegiacs App 33\**

Ὡς Σαπφούς

Παῖδες ἀφ' ὧτος ἔοισα τόδ' εἰνέπω αἱ τις ἔρηται  
                 φωναν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρὸ πόδων  
Αἰθιοπία με κόρα Λάτως ἀνέθηκει Ἀρίστῳ  
                 Ἑρμοκλειδαία τῷ Σαθηαΐδῃ  
σὰ πρόπολος δίδασκονα γυναῖκων· ἧ σὺ χαρεῖσα  
                 πρόφρων ἀμετέραν εὐκλείσοι γένεαν

παις εἰ d Orville τόδ' MS τετ Paton τόρ  
Cf Pausan 1 29 22    see Bergk 170

*Supposed to be Sappho's*

Ye maids if any ask though dumb I say  
With this voice at my feet untired for aye  
Me did Aristo handmaid of thine own  
O Queen of women dedicate in stone  
Daughter of Hermocleides Sauneus son  
A gift to Artemis Aethopia  
The child of Leto Thou of thy good grace  
In gratitude grant honour to our race

The statue is supposed to speak in the inscription on its base

5 Really "Son of Sauniadas", itself a patronymic

## 164

Anth Pal vii, 489, Planud 229, Bergk, 119, Edm 144  
*Elegiacs, App 33<sup>n</sup>*

Σαπφούς εἰς Τιμάδα πρὸ γάμου τελευτήσασαν

Τίμαδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θάνοισαν  
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος,  
ᾧς καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πᾶσαι νεόθαγι σιδάρῳ  
ἄλικες ἰμέρταν κράτος ἔθεντο κόμαν

Nothing is known of Timas as a friend of Sappho's, unless we follow Edmonds' emendation of Fragm 97, see *Proc Class Assoc*, 1921

*Sappho's to Timas, who died before her marriage*

This dust was Timas her, ere she was wed,  
Death welcomed to his darksome bridal bed,  
Her girl friends on her tomb in sadness laid  
Their new-shorn locks in honour of the maid

## 165

Anth Pal vii, 505, Planud 196, Bergk, 120, Edm 145  
*Elegiacs, App 33<sup>n</sup>*

Εἰς Πελάγωνα Σαπφούς

Τῷ γρίπει Πελάγωνι πάτηρ ἐπέθηκε Μένισκος  
κύρτον καὶ κώπαν μνᾶμα κακοζοῖας

No one can suppose that this is by Sappho

*On Pelagon a Fisherman*

To Pelagon, the fisher, on the shore  
A tomb his sire Meniscus made,  
Set there his trawler's basket and his oar,  
To mark the hard toil of his trade

FRAGMENTS POSSIBLY FROM SAPPHO BUT NOT EXPLICITLY  
ATTRIBUTED TO HER

## 166

Bergk 24 Edm 49

*Adonius App* 16

Ουτι μοι υμμες

Homer *Il* i 335 see above 153

Not at all to me are you

## 167

Bergk *Adesp* 46 A

*Trochaic App* 21

Εἴμ' ὡς ἀπ' υσσάκῳ λύθεισα

See Hoffm *Griech dialect* ii p 195

I will go as if released from a peg

## 168

Bergk *Adesp* 58

*Logaoedic* († *Choriambic*) *App* 21

ἀλλὰ τις αἰμι δαίμων

But to us some god

## 169

Bergk *Adesp* 77

*Logaoedic*

Γέλαν δ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ

Cf Hom *Il* i 599

And the immortal Gods laughed

If by Sappho possibly in an account of the wedding of  
Heracles and Hebe cf 140 above

## 170

Bergk *Adesp* 60

*Sapphic* ?



Καὶ κατ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων . . .

or ὑψηλῶν

And down from the high mountains . . .

## 171

Bergk, *Adesp* 68

*Hexameter* ?

Παρὰ δέ σφι κόραι λευκάσπιδες . . .

Bergk suggests ἄσφι and thinks Amazons are meant.

And beside them the white-shielded maidens . . .

## 172

Bergk, *Adesp.* 75, *App* 24

*Sapphic* It seems to require a long syllable after εὔπετες

Πόθεν δέ τῶλκος εὔπετες ἔβλῃς ,

Cf Hom , *Il* v, 795, MS. δὲ ὦλκος.

Whence didst thou inflict the wound thus easily ?

## 173

Bergk, *Adesp* 74

*Alcaic* ?

Τυίδ' ὃν κολῶναν . . .

Hither up the hill . . .

## 174

Bergk, *Adesp* 65. Lobel, p 73

κλαῖην δάκρυσι.

SPURIOUS POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO AND POEMS  
ABOUT HER

- 1 Riddle and answer by Antiphanes
- 2 Skolion of Admetus
- 3 Poem by Anacreon
4. Supposed answer by Sappho
- 5 Sappho and Alcaeus by Hermesianax
- 6 Epigram by Nossis
- 7 Epigram by Dioscorides of Egypt.
- 8 Epigram by Tullius Laurea.
- 9 Epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica.
- 10 Anonymous on the 9 lyristes
- 11 Anonymous on the 9 lyristes
- 12 Anonymous To Sappho from the Muses

## 1

RIDDLE AND ANSWER ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO  
Athenaeus x 451 From the *Sappho* of Antiphanes  
(circa 365 B C)

*Riddle*

Εστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σωζουσὺν ὑπὸ κόλποις  
αὐτῆς ὄντα δ' ἀφωνα βοῇν ἰστήσι γεγωνόν  
καὶ δια πόντιον ὀδμα καὶ ἡπείρου διὰ πάσης  
οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν τοῖς δ' οὐ παρέουσιν ἀκούειν  
ἔξουσιν κωφὴν δ' ἀκοῆς αἰσθησὶν ἔχουσιν

Cleophylina of Lindus who was almost as early as  
Sappho is said to have composed riddles

*Riddle*

There is a female thing that hides away  
Her young within her womb where speechless they  
Yet forth can send a sounding cry to fare  
O'er swelling sea and all dry land where'er  
For men they will and any that stand near  
Seem rather a faint sound to feel than hear

## 2

*Answer*

θήλεια μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ φύσις ἐπιστολή,  
 βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα  
 ἄφωνα δ' ὄντα ταῦτα τοῖς πόρρῳ λαλεῖ,  
 οἷς βούλετ' ἕτερος δ' ἂν τύχῃ τις πλησίον  
 ἐστὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται.

*Answer*

The female thing I spoke of must, we see,  
 None other than a written message be  
 The young within her womb the letters are ,  
 Though speechless, yet they talk to those afar,  
 Whom e'er they will , but others, e'en if near,  
 The voice of him that reads them may not hear

## 3

Cf also Athen. xv, 694 and 695 (*Three choiambes with basis*)

*Ἀδμήτου σκόλιον*

Eustath , *Il* ii, p 247 . Πausanías φησὶν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ  
 λεξικῷ, ὡς οἱ μὲν Ἀλκαίου φασὶν αὐτὸ, οἱ δὲ Σαπφούς, οἱ  
 δὲ Πραξίλλης τῆς Σικυωνίας Ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ μελοῦς αὕτη  
 Ἀδμήτου λόγον, ᾧ ταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει,  
 τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, γνοὺς ὅτι δειλοῖς ὀλίγα χάρις  
 Probably by Praxilla

*The Admetus " Catch "*

Eustathius Pausanias says in his Attic Lexicon,  
 that some say it is by Alcaeus, others by Sappho, and  
 others by Praxilla the Sicyonian The beginning of the  
 song is as follows —

Learn of Admetus' fate to brave men ever cling,  
 The craven shun, for small the pleasure that they  
 bring

## 4

SAPPHO AND ANACREON

*(Apocryphal Intercourse)*

Athenacus xiv 599 C Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ  
Σαπφούς καὶ λέγειν τινὰς φησι εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιησθαι ὑπ'  
Ἀνακρέοντος τὰδε (νῖξ Σφαίρῃ κ.τ.λ.) καὶ Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν (Κήριον κ.τ.λ.) Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐστι Σαπφούς τοῦτο τὸ ᾄσμα παντὶ που δῆλον

Bergh. Anacr 14

Σφαίρῃ δηῦτέ με πορφυρῇ  
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἐρως  
νήρι ποικιλοσαμβάλλῳ  
συμπαλῆειν προκαλεῖται  
ἢ δ' ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου  
Λέσβου τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην  
λευκὴ γάρ καταμέμφεται  
πρὸς δ' ἄλλον τινὰ χάσκει

3 = πάλιν δὲ.

Athenacus Chamaeleon in his treatise about Sappho  
both asserts that according to some the following lines  
(Eros of the golden hair etc.) were composed by Anacreon  
to her and that Sappho also wrote these lines (O golden  
throned etc.) to him but it is obvious I take it to all  
that this poem is not by Sappho

By Anacreon

Eros of the golden hair  
Strikes me with his purple ball  
And to love's sweet play doth call  
With a maid of sandal fair  
But since age hath made me white  
She in goodly Lesbos born  
Thinking on my looks with scorn  
Takes in younger pates delight

## 5

*Supposed answer by Sappho*

Bergk, 26

Κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες  
 ὕμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικός ἔσθλας  
 Τήιος χώρας, ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς  
 πρέσβυς ἀγαυός

*Supposed answer by Sappho*

O golden-throned Muse,  
 Teach me that song to use,  
 That the old poet sung,  
 A bard of glorious tongue,  
 From Teos' noble strand,  
 Of all fair maids the land

## 6

From Hermesianax in his Elegiacs 290 B C , Edm ,  
 P 144

Athen 599 C ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται  
 συγχρονεῖν οἰόμενος Σαπφῶ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,

Σαπφούς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,

γινώσκεις ὁ δ' αἰδὸς ἀηδόνης ἡράσαθ' ὕμνων

Τήιον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ

καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφωμίλῃσ' Ἀνακρείων

στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσι

φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὴν

οἰνῆρην ὄρεσιν κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,

Λέσβον ἐς εὖοινον

Cf Plut , *Symp* vii, 8, 2 (MS)

Athenaeus In these verses (Pieces 5 and 6) Hermesianax is mistaken in thinking that Sappho and Anacreon were contemporaries

How many a lay Alcaeus wrought needs not to tell  
 In passionate love of Sappho on the lyre  
 For that sweet nightingale of hymns he loved so well  
 That his much praising roused the Teian s ire.  
 Since he too sought her honey tongued Anacreon,  
 When in her glory mid the Lesbian maids she played  
 While from the sloping hills of viny Teos gone  
 Or Samos he to wine-rich Lesbos strayed

## EPIGRAMS RELATING TO SAPPHO

## 7

Anth. Pal. vii 718

*By Nossis (circa 300 B C)*

\*Ω ξείν εἰ τύ γε πλείς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μυτιλάναν  
 ταν Σαπφῶ Χαρίτων αἶθος ἐναυσταμέναν  
 εἰπεῖν ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήν τε Λοκρὶς γὰ  
 τίκτεν ἴσαν ὅτι θ' οἱ τουτομα Νόσσις ἰθι

*Nossis to Sappho*

Friend if to Mitylene lies thy way  
 The isle of lovely dances that did rear  
 Sappho the flower of all the Graces say  
 That one the Locrian land can show  
 As dear to all the Muses and her peer  
 And that her name is Nossis—Go!

## 8

Anth. Pal. vii 407

*By Dioscorides of Egypt (circa 180 B C)*

\*Ηδιστον φίλοισι νέοις προσανάκλιμ ἔρωτων  
 Σαπφῶ σὺν Μούσαις ἥ ρά σε Πιερίη  
 ἥ Ελικῶν ευκίστος ἴσα πνέουσιν ἐκείναις  
 κοσμεῖ τὴν Ερῆσφ Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι

- 5 ἤ καὶ Ὑμῆν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην  
 σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἴσταθ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων  
 ἤ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένη Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 σύνθρηνος, μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὁρῆς  
 πάντῃ, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα· σᾶς γὰρ ἀοιδάς  
 10 ἀθανάτων ἄγομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας

7 i e Adonis

9 θεοῖς ἴσα Cf Sappho, 141

### *To Sappho*

Thou of Aeolian Eresus the Muse,  
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,  
 Sappho, with whom each Muse her honour shares  
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—  
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand  
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,  
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cyprus' love,  
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy Grove  
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,  
 For daughters of the gods thy songs still are

2 i e the book of her poems cf *The Return from Parnassus*, III, 1, 63

### 9

Anth Pal VII, 17, Edm, p 166

*By Tullius Laurea (circa 60 B C)*

- Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰών, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν  
 τὰν Μυτιληναίαν ἔννεπ' ἀοιδόπολον  
 τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν  
 εἰς ταχινὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα  
 5 ἣν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσης χάριν, ὦν ἀφ' ἐκάστης  
 δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῇ θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι,  
 γνώσεται ὡς Αἴδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται  
 τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφούς νώνυμος ἡέλιος

*By Tullius Laurea*

Stranger that passest by my Lesbian tomb  
 Say not that Mitylene's bard is dead  
 'Twas by men's hands upraised but by one doom  
 Such works to swift forgetfulness are sped  
 If for the Muses' sake thou ask—from whom  
 A flower of each in my nine books I set—  
 Know that escaped from Death's devouring gloom  
 No sun shall lyric Sappho's name forget

## 10

Anth. Pal. ix 26

*By Antipater of Thessalonica (circa 10 B C)*

Τάσδε θεογλωσσούς Ελικῶν ἔθρεψε γυναίκας  
 ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδῶν Πιερίας σκόπελος  
 Πρήξιλλαν Μοίρῳ Ἀνυτῆς στόμα θῆλυν Ὀμηρον  
 Λεσβιάδων Σαπφῶ κόσμον εὐπλοκάμων  
 5 Ἥρῳαν Τελέσιλλαν ἀγακλέα καὶ σέ Κόρινθα  
 βοῶριν Ἀθηναίης ἀσπίδα μελψαμένην  
 Νοσσίδα θηλυγλωσσὸν ἰδε γλυκυαχέα Μύρτιν  
 πάσας αἰνέων ἐργάτιδας σελίδων  
 ἐντα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανός ἐντα δ' αὐτὰς  
 10 Γαῖα τέκεν θνατοῖς ἀφθιτον εὐφροσύναν

3 θηλ. Ομ. usually taken as descriptive of Anyte, as its position should make it, but does it not refer to Σαπφῶ? Cf. above Anth. Pal. vii, 15 Besides the words go much better in apposition to Σαπφῶ than to στόμα.

*By Antipater*

Lo these are the women of god-like tongue  
 Whom Helicon fed with Pierian song  
 Praxilla and Moero and Anyté famed  
 And as Homer of women for aye to be named  
 Thou Sappho the glory beyond compare  
 Of Lesbian women with lovely hair



Telesilla, Erinna, Korinna renowned,  
 With whose praises Athena's stout shield doth resound  
 And Nossis soft-voicèd and Myrtis sweet-toned,  
 Whose pages shall never by Time be disowned  
 From great Heaven nine Muses, these nine too from  
 Earth,  
 As a deathless delight unto men, had their birth

## 11

Anth Pal 1x, 184

*Anonymous*

Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ιερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν,  
 Βακχυλίδη, Σαπφούς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες,  
 γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὀμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ρεῦμα  
 ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,  
 ἧ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σέλις, ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς,  
 Ἰβυκε, καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμυσάμενε,  
 καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίου, τὸ πολλάκις αἶμα τυράννων  
 ἔσπεισεν, πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,  
 θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἴλατε πάσης  
 ἀρχὴν οἱ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.

*Anonymous*

## The Nine Lyrists

Pindar, the sacred mouth of the Muses, and thou fluent  
 siren,  
 Bacchylides, Sappho's lovely Aeolian charm,  
 Master-hand of Anacreion, and thou, that didst borrow  
 Water from Homer's stream, Stesichorus, for thy mill,  
 Simonides' sweet page, and Ibycus, thou who didst gather  
 Honeyed Persuasion's bloom, bloom too of boys and  
 their love,

Patriot sword of Alcaeus that didst so oft against tyrants  
 Champion his country's laws bathing thy edge in their  
 blood  
 Thy nightingales too O Alcman with voices soft as a  
 maiden's  
 Look ye with grace upon me authors and enders of  
 song

## 12

Scholiast on the *Vita Pindari*

*Anonymous*

*Εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα Λυρικοὺς*

*Εννέα τῶν πρῶτων λυρικῶν πάτρην γενέην τε  
 μάθανε καὶ πατέρας καὶ διάλεκτον ἀθραι  
 ὦν Μυτιληναῖος μὲν εἴην γεραρωτερός ἀλλαν  
 Ἀλκαῖος πρότερος ἡχικὸς Αἰολίδος  
 ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ξυγῆν πάτρην φωνήν τε δαείσα  
 Σαπφῶ Κλήϊδος καὶ πατρὸς Εὐρυγύνου*

On the Nine Lyrists

The nine first lyrists race and country learn  
 Their native speech and parentage discern  
 Of Mitylene earliest of the throng  
 Alcaeus herald of Aeolian song  
 And she who shared his fatherland and tongue  
 Sappho of Cleis and Eurygyus sprung

## 13

Anth Pal ix 521

*Anonymous*

*Εἰς Σαπφῶν παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν*

*Οὐκ ἀρα σοὶ γε δόλζον ἐπὶ κλέος ὠπασε Μοῖρα  
 ἡματι τῷ πρῶτῳ φῶς ἴδες δελίου*

Σαπφοῖ σοὶ γὰρ ῥῆσιν ἐνεύσαμεν ἄφθιτον εἶμεν,  
 σὺν δὲ πατὴρ πάντων νεῦσεν ἐρισφάραγος  
 μέλψῃ δ' ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀοίδιμος ἀμερίοισιν,  
 οὐδὲ κλυτὰς φάμας ἔσσει ἠπεδανά

*To Sappho, from the Muses*

No little glory Fate apportioned thee,  
 When first thou lookedst on the light of day,  
 Sappho, we promised that thy songs should never die,  
 And the great sire in thunder answered "Aye"  
 All mortal men in song shall hail thy name,  
 And endless be thy honour and thy fame



A BRONZE  
1 the British Museum



A BROKEN SARD  
1 the British Museum (No. 556)



## OVID'S EPISTLE OF SAPPHO TO PHAON

### *Heroides* XI

In spite of de Vries and I uñík and other defenders the authenticity of this Epistle remains doubtful. It is certainly in Ovid's style but scarcely a favourable specimen of it and reads perhaps more like a clever imitation. We know from an allusion elsewhere in Ovid<sup>1</sup> that he did write an Epistle of Sappho to Phaon and that Sabinus a friend of his wrote a supposed answer from Phaon. But both external and internal evidences are very strong against this Epistle that we have being the one which Ovid wrote. It does not appear in the best and earliest MSS. of Ovid or in Planudes translation. When found it is generally separate from other Ovidian writings and never placed with the *Heroides* the latter perhaps naturally as Sappho is not a legendary heroine. One MS. says that it was translated from the Greek a statement evidently based on line 5<sup>2</sup>. If there is any truth in the idea the Greek source would be Callimachus in his *Aitia* to which Birt traces the Naiad the leap from the rock and the lyre dedicated to Apollo. The form Anactorie betrays a poetical source.

*The internal evidence is no less unfavourable.* There are serious difficulties in respect of metre grammar vocabulary allusions and style. We find words not used elsewhere in Ovid words employed in an unusual sense allusions such as that to the witch Erichtho<sup>3</sup> which belongs to the Neronian age and phrases like *se dolor*

<sup>1</sup> *Amor.* II, 18.

*Rhein Mus.* xxxii 399

<sup>2</sup> This is now rejected for *Euryo*.

*invenit* (1113), which also savour of Nero's time, grammar and scansion almost impossible to Ovid, absurdities like the story of Deucalion attempting the Lover's Leap, and Sappho telling Phaon of all the girls she had loved. The accumulative effect of all these banal and un-Ovidian traits is very great, and it is impossible to feel any confidence in the Ovidian authorship of the Epistle.

The author, whoever he was, knew something about the facts of Sappho's life, for instance, what he says about Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, is partly corroborated by Herodotus. He tells us a fact not mentioned elsewhere, that Sappho lost her father (*parens*) when she was six. The details of her appearance were taken probably from Chamaeleon, from whom possibly Maximus Tyrius also took his statement on the subject.

Besides Chamaeleon, this writer is the only one who seems to take for granted that Sappho was guilty of perverted affection for her girl friends or pupils. He may have drawn from Chamaeleon or more directly from the comic writers. But there is no real evidence that the latter depicted Sappho as worse than a courtesan and a lover of Phaon. There is no sign in the whole Epistle of any acquaintance with Sappho's own writings, as far as the fragments we have of her are concerned, except perhaps in line 18 with reference to Atthis. Lunák's treatise on this point is a piece of special pleading and most inconclusive.

A careful study of the whole poem impresses us more and more with its fictitious nature. But it is chiefly owing to this reputed work of Ovid's, and two or three allusions elsewhere, that Sappho's reputation has suffered so much in later days. Yet the justifiable doubt as to its authorship and its vapid and superficial character deprive it of any right to be taken seriously as evidence for Sappho's

life and character. It is certain however that Ovid himself must have had Sappho's writings in his library though he does not seem to have borrowed from them as Catullus did. If we had more of Sappho's work possibly we should modify this judgment.

*Sappho to Phaon*

- Say when your eyes upon my letter fall  
 Does it the writer to your mind recall?  
 Or did you not thereon read Sappho's name  
 Could you not guess whence that short missive came?
- 5 But why these elegiacs I have sent  
 Fain would you ask though lyrics are my bent  
 Sad is my love and elegies sad songs  
 But to my lyre no tearful theme belongs  
 I burn as when by east winds fiercely driven
- 10 Through the rich cornfield flares the fire to heaven  
 The fields of Etna Phaon treads apart  
 A fire no less than Etna's scars my heart  
 My strings are tuned but no song comes to me  
 A mind that speaks in song is fancy free
- 15 The maids of Pyrrha and Methymna's shore  
 And all the Lesbian girlhood charm no more  
 Nought Anactoria Cydro nought I prize  
 No more is Atthis gracious in my eyes,  
 A hundred more I loved that were my blame
- 20 Shameless what many shared you selfish claim!  
 You beauty have you youth for dalliance meet  
 Snare set to catch my eyes O beauty sweet!  
 Take bow and lyre as Phoebus you shall show  
 Bind horns upon your brow and Bacchus go!
- 25 One for Crete's maid for Daphné one did long  
 But she nor she knew aught of lyric song



- The Muses gave me sweetest songs to sing,  
And through the wide world now my fame doth ring  
Alcaeus claims (our land, our lyre the same)  
30 Though grander notes he strike, no higher fame  
My wit that want of beauty has supplied  
Which niggard nature to my form denied  
Small am I, but a name for earth and sea  
Too large is mine *that* shall my measure be  
35 If dark my hue, yet was Andromeda fair  
In Perseus' eyes, though dark her mien and hair  
So white doves oft with varied mates are seen  
And oft black turtles mated are with green  
If but your peer alone can please your mind,  
40 Then you no mate, then you no mate shall find  
But, when you read me, then I seemed still fair,  
That I alone should speak, you used to swear  
I sang, I well remember—lovers do—  
Kisses you took and gave me singing, too  
45 This won your praise, in every part I pleased,  
And chiefly then, when Love his longing eased  
Then was my sportiveness your rare delight,  
And dear my mirth and quickness in your sight  
How sweet, when our twin joys had had their fill,  
50 To lie in dreamy languor tired and still !  
Sicilian girls, new booty, round you throng,  
Lesbos avaunt ! To Sicily I belong  
But send him back, who thus has truant played,  
Megarian mother and Megarian maid  
55 Be not deceived by flattery's lying word ,  
He says to you what my ears too have heard  
O Thou, who Eryx for thy home hast made,  
I am thy mouthpiece Queen, be thou my aid !  
Or does stern Fortune, to her purpose true,  
60 The cruel tenour of her way pursue ?

- SIX winters old was I when ere his years  
 The ashes of a parent drank my tears  
 My brother for a harlot's love aflame  
 A wastrel<sup>1</sup> mingled loss with his foul shame.  
 65 Impov'risht with swift oars he roves the main  
 And wealth ill lost he seeks as ill to gain.  
 Me too he hateth for the truths he learned  
 Such meed my conscience and my free-speech earned  
 In case my ills should cease that endless were  
 70 My little daughter brings me care on care  
 Thou comest last of all to crown my woes  
 Against the wind my labouring vessel goes  
 Lo on my neck dishevelled falls the hair  
 No sparkling jewels on my hand I wear  
 75 Mean is my dress no gold gleams on my head  
 Nor Araby's sweet dew's their fragrance shed  
 Whom should I strive to dress for whom to please?  
 My love's own idol dwells beyond the seas  
 Soft is my heart that every dart can slay  
 80 And cause for aye is there to love for aye  
 Whether at birth the sisters span it so  
 That no harsh threads should through my fabric go  
 Or moulded by the influence of my art,  
 Thalia's teaching softens all my heart  
 85 What wonder then that I was led astray  
 By youth's smooth cheeks and love's triumphant  
     day?  
 I feared thou Dawn wouldst take him for thine own  
 Twere done did Cephalus not hold his throne  
 Look but on him who lookst on all O Moon  
 90 And Phaon thou wilt bid not wake too soon.  
 Venus had rapt him in her car on high  
 But feared her Mars too might his beauty eye

<sup>1</sup> Reading *meets* for *meets*.

- Sweet years ! O not-yet-youth, no-more-a-boy,  
Of all your age the jewel and the joy !  
95 O fairest, come, sink back into my bay .  
“ Love not , let me but love,” is all I pray  
Now, as I write, my swelling tears o’erflow .  
See here how many a smear this page can show !  
If go you must, why not with gentler eye,  
100 And saying merely, “ Lesbian maid, good-bye ! ”  
My tears and my last kiss you did disdain ,  
I knew not then how deep my future pain  
Nothing I have of you, but shame and ill ,  
You nought that tells of me, your lover still  
105 No task I set you and no task can set,  
Save this, that you shall not my love forget  
By Love (ne’er can He from your side depart ),  
By the Nine Muses, dearest to my heart,  
When one but told me all my joys were fled,  
110 I swear, not long I wept, nor word I said,  
Mine eyes no tears could give, my tongue no sound  
And all my breast with icy frost was bound  
When sorrow found her voice, I beat my breast,  
And tore my hair, and wailed with grief opprest,  
115 As when a mother to the pyre up-piled  
Attends the lifeless body of her child  
Charaxus laughs and battens on my woe,  
My brother he, and passes to and fro ,  
Making more shameful my griefs’ cause, he cried  
120 “ Why grieves she thus ? Her daughter has not  
died ”  
How little love and shame can e’er agree !  
My mangled breast lay bare for all to see  
Phaon my thoughts possess, my dreams portray,  
Dreams brighter than the glory of the day  
125 In these I find you, though afar you live,

- But short too short the joys that sleep can give  
Oft on your arms I seem my head to rest  
And oft lay yours upon my tender breast.  
Sometimes to coaxing words so real I take  
130 My lips and all my senses are awake  
I taste your kisses tongue to tongue again  
Kisses so given once and once so ta en.  
I blush to tell what follows—love's full rites  
How sweet! Without you love hath no delights.  
135 But when day shows herself and all beside  
I murmur that my dreams so soon have died  
To cave and wood I go as though in these  
Were healing they saw all that most did please.  
Frenzied as if by wild Enyo led  
140 With hair dishevelled to those scenes I fled.  
The caves o'erhung with rough sandstone I see  
That erst of choicest marble seemed to be.  
The grove I find where oft our couch was spread  
And leafy boughs o'ercanopied our bed  
145 But find not that wood's master and my own  
Barren the spot now he its wealth alone  
I saw the sward our limbs had pressed so late  
And the soft grass still hollowed with our weight  
I lay and touched the spot where you had lain  
150 The grass once dear now drank my eyes salt rain  
The boughs too seem with drooping leaves to sigh  
And birds no more sing sweet laments thereby  
Sad Philomel alone doth there complain.  
For not her husband hut her Itys slain  
155 She Itys sings Sappho her lonely love  
Till midnight hushes all the silent grove.  
Here wells a sacred spring more bright and fair  
Than crystal streams some deem a god dwells there

- Above, a branching lotus spreads a screen,  
160 Itself a grove, and round it all is green  
Here, when I laid my woe-worn limbs to rest,  
A Naiad stood before my eyes confest,  
And said " Since thou the fire of love no more  
Canst bear, betake thee to Ambracia's shore  
165 There Phoebus scans the wide sea from his shrine,  
Of Actium and Leucadia King divine  
From here Deucalion, Pyrrha's love to gain,  
Leapt down himself, unhurt, into the main  
And straight Love turned and touched soft Pyrrha's  
heart,  
170 And freed Deucalion's bosom from the smart  
This custom holds · seek thou Leucadia's steep,  
And fear not boldly from the rock to leap "  
She spake , and voice and she are gone I rise  
And the full tear-drops trickle from my eyes  
175 I go, O Nymph, to the appointed shore ,  
By frantic love possest, I'll fear no more  
Whate'er my fate, 'twere better so Come, breeze,  
So light a body thou shalt bear with ease  
Let thy wings too, soft Love, my limbs sustain,  
180 Nor by my death Leucadia's waters stain  
My lyre, joint pride, on Phoebus I'll bestow,  
And this short couplet shall be carved below  
" To thee by Sappho dedicated be "  
This lyre, as fitting her, as fitting thee "  
185 Yet why send me, poor wretch, to Actium's shore,  
When you could your own truant self restore,  
Ablert to heal than all Leucadia's wave,  
As fair a Phoebus and a friend as brave ?  
Or can you, harder than the rocks and seas,  
190 A glorious title take from my decease ?



SAPPHO IN REVERIE  
(From terracotta relief at Rome)



- How better far my breast to yours were prest  
Than I cast headlong from Leucate's crest !  
That breast that Phaon once your praise inspired  
That seemed to you so oft with genius fired  
195 Would I could sing but grief has killed my heart  
And ills destroyed my genius and my art  
No more my songs display their ancient skill  
And grief my lyre has hushed its strings are still  
O Lesbian maids unwed O Lesbian dames  
200 Dear to Aeolian song your Lesbian names  
Lesbians whose love ill fame to me did bring  
No longer gather round to hear me sing  
With Phaon fled all that you deemed divine—  
Ah me how near I called him Phaon mine !  
205 Bring him but back my songs I'll sing once more  
He makes my genius droop he makes it soar  
Are prayers of use? Do they his rude heart  
sway?  
Or is *that* hard and winds bear *those* away?  
Let those that take my words bring back your  
sail  
210 That was your task if you but knew O Snail  
But votive gifts aboard if now you start  
For home why with delays torment my heart?  
Launch forth! a smooth sea and a favouring gale  
Venus sea born to lovers sends set sail!  
215 Cupid will from the stern your vessel steer,  
His own soft hands control the sail and gear  
But if you will from Lesbian Sappho fly  
(No worthy reason can you give me why)  
Yet bid me wretched in one line of hate  
220 Go to Leucadia's waves and tempt my fate



## THE RHYTHMS AND METRES OF SAPPHO

§ 1 Sappho was an accomplished musician and dancer as well as a supreme poet, and her pre-eminence in poetry was no doubt largely due to her mastery of the two sister arts <sup>1</sup> The link between these three, dancing, music, and poetry (and the greatest of these is poetry), is to be found in rhythm, which is time measured by some kind of movement Steps, when subjected to rhythmical movement, become a dance, speech becomes poetry when its accented and unaccented syllables are regulated by rhythmical order Poetical ideas, even when expressed in poetical words, are not enough of themselves to constitute poetry, they require a certain ordered rhythm But the Greeks made music the handmaid of poetry Thus music in early times had no existence entirely independent of poetry, as our highest music can have It was bound in a close union with poetry, the words of which could not express their full emotional meaning without the music, and in some cases without the motions and gestures of the dance With us it is not so A Schumann or a Schubert may marry his airs to the verse which he is setting to music, but in most instances the poet and musician function apart, and the music overrides the words (which are used only as a vehicle for its expression) and does not merely interpret them Tennyson was not musical in the technical sense, but his verse was often eminently so On the other hand Browning was a good musician, while much of his poetry is harsh and untunable

<sup>1</sup> Dance was to the sung lyric as gesticulation to the orator, but a more refined and subtle adjunct

§ 2 Unfortunately our knowledge of Greek music is still far from complete. Despite the right happy labours during the past fifty years of Westphal Schmidt Christ Abdy Williams<sup>1</sup> and others which have thrown an unexpected and welcome light on this subject we are not yet in a position to appreciate to the full the part played by music in the poems of Sappho. It is known that the Greeks developed rhythm in some directions further than moderns for not having any real knowledge of harmony or counterpoint (an English discovery by the way) they were obliged to get the utmost that they could from the means at their disposal. To give one example we do not employ quintuple measures such as cretics (— ∪ —) to anything like the extent that the Greeks did. They were evidently able to appreciate that particular rhythm much more easily and fully than we in spite of its use in our folk-songs such as *Barbara Allen*.

§ 3 Dracon of Stratoniceia wrote a treatise on the metres of Sappho which has unfortunately not come down to us. As it is in dealing with Sappho's rhythms and metres we are not only handicapped at the start by our general ignorance of Greek music but we are further at a loss in divining the correct metre and consequent rhythm of many of Sappho's lyrics owing to their mutilated condition. Modern metricians moreover differ considerably from the conclusions of the ancient writers on classical metres such as Hephaestion<sup>2</sup> though these had the complete works of Sappho before them and knew how they were sung. The technical terms which they used in discussing the subject have been inherited by us but they form a jargon somewhat repellent to the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> *The Aristoxenian Theory of Music* and other works. For a useful Bibliography see Weir Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* p. cxl.

<sup>2</sup> About A.D. 170.

reader Unfortunately a convincing treatment of the whole question requires a thorough knowledge of music, such as comparatively few people possess, combined with an intimate acquaintance with classical models, which is still less common

§ 4 Greek music was divided into several *ἁρμονίαι*, or "modes", which varied in pitch and character, and were associated with different emotional effects But these effects must in reality have been due far more to the *tempo*, in which the melody was sung, and the variations of rhythm introduced Sappho's favourite modes were the Aeolian and Lydian, which from their varied and tender character were especially suited to the logaoedic rhythms in which she delighted Terpander, Sappho's fellow-countryman, had introduced the former mode, which was particularly adapted for the lyre Pratinas,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary of Aeschylus in the fifth century, advises his hearers to eschew the higher and lower-pitched melodies and, ploughing the middle furrow, to *αἰολίζειν τῷ μέλει* Sappho is credited by some with having invented, or introduced from Lydia, the *pēctis*,<sup>2</sup> a kind of harp, with somewhat shrill notes, and also made use of a new "mode", the Mixolydian,<sup>3</sup> which perhaps did not differ much from the plaintive and high-pitched (*querulus*) Lydian mode This went well with the youthful voices that accompanied the songs of Sappho It is possible that Sappho was almost as great an inventor and artist in music as in poetry, but our evidence will not take us further than the assurance that she was at all events a thoroughly competent musician Like most great poets she invented new metres to supply her needs, and

<sup>1</sup> Athen xii, 624

<sup>2</sup> Athen xiv, 635 E

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Mus* 6

her favourite Sapphic stanza (whether invented by her or not) still goes by her name. Her usual instrument was the tortoise-shell lyre called by herself *chelys*<sup>1</sup>. The kithara was a stronger instrument in a squarer frame more suitable for public playing. The lyre is sometimes represented with four and sometimes with seven (or more) strings.

§ 5 In dealing with Sappho's musical rhythms and quantitative metres we must at the outset realize that the musical *ictus* or beat has nothing to do with the accent on a word. Each syllable is a note or tone and the quantity of the syllable depends on the duration of the note upon it, the intonation on the intensity of the tone and the accent on its elevation. In English we have no real *metre* but only rhythm which follows the accent. Taking the short syllable or quaver as the unit of time the ancient metricians mostly counted every long syllable as equivalent to two short ones. But in musical rhythms as applied to poetry a long syllable may be made short or a short syllable long according as the voice dwells upon it or slurs it. The last syllable in a line whatever its quantity can be counted long or short.

§ 6 Before we proceed to classify the metres and rhythms used by Sappho it will be necessary to explain some of the more technical terms used in this connexion. The syllable which bears the ictus or stress (sometimes represented by an acute accent or a dot, if a secondary ictus is marked the sign on the primary one being doubled) is called the *thesis* and the unstressed syllable the *arsis* which words mean the down setting and the up-lifting.

<sup>1</sup> *Fragm. 2*, or *chelyna* 41. Cf. also Ovid *Heroid.* xv 181. Sappho also mentions the *barbitos* or *sarbitos* (see *Vocab.* and Ovid *Heroid.* xv 8) and the *βάρβρον* or *βάρμπρον* *Athen.* iv 187).

of the foot in marching <sup>1</sup> Sometimes, a whole dipody, or double foot, can be in thesis and a second dipody in arsis. The term *anacrusis* is applied to a preliminary note or notes, forming a sort of signal-beat, or "strike-up" to the rhythm that follows, but not belonging to it. Anacrusis is used with the limitation that it must never be greater or less in time than the arsis of the following metre, for, example, a dactylic metre must not have an anacrusis of a time value longer than two quavers. When this rule is apparently violated, this is due to the admission of an *irrational* syllable, which though long in metre can be, musically, sung short <sup>2</sup> This term is also applied to a long syllable in the second, i.e. the unemphasized, foot of a dipody, where a short would have been expected. This weakening of the second dipody is due to the fact that the thesis is on the first dipody. But the liberty is not very often taken, and, if taken, then probably with an intentional effect upon the rhythm. Lines with anacrusis start off with more energy and impetus than those that are without it. So the Alcaic is a stronger and brisker measure than the Sapphic.

§ 7 Not only can a long syllable be slurred over so as to be shortened, but it can be dwelt on so as to have the value of a trochee (— ◡), when it is written ⊔, or of two longs, when it is written ⊔. At the end of a line the last syllable can be lengthened by the musical rest, so that a long syllable has the value of a trochee (— ◡), when it is marked — ^, <sup>3</sup> or of a spondee ⊔, or of a quaver more ^, or a crochet more ⊔.

<sup>1</sup> Or the downward beat of the baton and its raising again for the next beat. Unfortunately later grammarians chose to reverse the terms, a bad example followed by many moderns. This often further perplexes a perplexing subject.

<sup>2</sup> It is often marked < to show this.

<sup>3</sup> This sign stands for ^ the first letter of λείμμα.

Besides the anacrusis some metres have a preliminary foot called the *basis* which does not like the anacrusis stand outside the metre but forms a sort of introduction to it. It may be represented by — ◡ or — — or ◡ — or even by ◡ ◡ when it is indistinguishable from the anacrusis if we have only one line to judge by.

§ 8 When as in logaoedic<sup>1</sup> rhythms dactyls are interspersed among trochees in order to get the necessary musical symmetry between the bars the dactyls have to be sung in the same time as the trochees. Such dactyls are either called *cyclic* dactyls<sup>2</sup> and are musically represented by a dotted quaver, a semi-quaver and a quaver both the first and second syllables losing some of their time value or are termed *choreic* dactyls expressed in musical notation by a crotchet and two semi-quavers where the second and third syllables of the dactyl are shortened from one-eighth notes to one-sixteenth notes. These two forms of dactyl may be written one as  $3/8$



the other as  $3/8$  It is not easy

to distinguish between the usage of these allied forms. The difference is really one of ictus<sup>3</sup>. Dactyls in a passage of three-eighths time (i.e. when the foot is equivalent to ◡ ◡ ◡) must be treated as choreic rather than cyclic when there is a succession of them and they are not in close alternation with trochees.

§ 9 There are more than thirty-five different measures found in our extant remains of Sappho<sup>4</sup>. Her favourite form was the logaoedic of which the Sapphic stanza

<sup>1</sup> From λόγος speech and δᾶσις song as partaking of the character of both.

<sup>2</sup> The first foot in 'Little Bo Peep has lost her sheep' is a cyclic dactyl.

<sup>3</sup> See Schmidt, *Rhythmic and Metric* (Engl. Transl.) p. 50. Farnell *Greek Lyric Poetry* p. 63. The latter only gives the choreic dactyl in Fragment 125 (not in 18). Recent criticism tends to reject cyclic dactyls.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot identify the fifty mentioned by Professor Gilbert Murray.

is an example Its varied and lively character made it especially suitable for expressing rapid changes of thought and feeling in an easy and flowing rhythm, akin to those of folk-song and dance The basic foot of logaoedics is the trochee, with which the dactyl is mingled not at haphazard, but so as to subserve the thought and feeling of the poem It is a measure perfectly familiar to us not only in our nursery songs, but also in the highest forms of poetry, which aim at the most musical and imaginative effects

§ 10 Take for instance "Old King Cole", a favourite of our childhood —

Óld King Cólé was a mérry old sôul  
 And ã mérry old sôul was hé,  
 Hě called for his pípe, and he called for his bówl,  
 And hě called for his fíddlers thrée  
 Évery fíddler, he hád a fíddle,  
 And ã véry fine fíddle had hé

And as an instructive contrast let us set down the exquisite verses chosen for the first poetry recitation competition at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> the charm of which, as recited by successful girl voices made a marked impression on the hearers They are part of a poem to Night by Shelley, that master of verbal music <sup>2</sup> —

Swiftly walk óver the wéstern wáve,  
 Spírit of níght !  
 Óút of the místy eástern cáve,  
 Whère áll the lóng and lóne daylíght  
 Thõu wóvest dréams of jóy and féar,  
 Whích máke thee térríblé and deár,  
 Swift be thy flíght !

<sup>1</sup> Also quoted by Professor Farnell for the same purpose of illustration as here, p 48

<sup>2</sup> Though not himself "musical", see above, § 1

Wrap thy form in a mantle gréy  
 Stár inwrought 1  
 Blínd with thine hír the éyes of dáy  
 Kíss her untíl she be weaned out  
 Thén wánder o'er cíty and s'éa and lánd  
 Touching áll with thine ópate wand—  
 Cóme long sóught 1

§ 11 These passages illustrate many of the rhythmic features of Greek lyric. They are both composed of trochees and dactyls irregularly placed. The former is in tetrameter lines<sup>1</sup> alternating with trimeters the latter in tetrameters with a dimeter after the first and last line in each stanza. As the leading lines in both pieces are tetrameters consisting of four equal feet the ultimate monosyllables *soul*<sup>2</sup> *wave* etc. must represent in the matter of time a double syllable. What is wanting in the verbal metre is made up by the musical rest at the end of the line which allows the sound to be prolonged so as to correspond with the metre of the other feet making the long syllable equal to — ∪<sup>3</sup>. Such a line is called by the grammarians *catalectic* or incomplete. The first line of Old King Cole would have been acatalectic or complete if it had run —

Old King Cole was a merry old monarch

but how flat and feeble would such a conclusion have been! To avoid this we should have been obliged perforce to make *monarch* two feet the first syllable being what is called syncopated and marked rhythmically as L (≡ — ∪)

<sup>1</sup> Catalectic or incomplete

<sup>2</sup> It is possible however in this case to take the anacrusis of the following line to complete the time of this word

<sup>3</sup> See § 7



and the second again made equivalent by the rest to a trochee (— ^), thus restoring the catalectic form

The syllables which stand outside the rhythm and are marked here by —, form the anacrusis spoken of above. It would be possible, in some cases,<sup>1</sup> to scan each couplet as forming one rhythm and so dispense with the services of the musical rest. In Shelley's lines the unaccented syllables are more detached from the rhythm than in the nursery ditty

§ 12 We meet here with the irrational feet which we have described above, for instance, *walk* must be for rhythmic purposes pronounced short and counted in music as a quaver. We have already spoken of the procrustean powers of music in making syllables conform to the prevailing rhythm

§ 13 From what has been already said, it is clear that metrical scansion and musical rhythm are quite different things. For instance, the metre may be choriambic, that is, formed of feet composed of trochee and iambus back to back (— — — —), but the musical rhythm cannot easily assimilate such a combination. It has to divide the foot into a dactyl and one long syllable, slurring the dactyl to make it equivalent to a trochee in time, and lengthening the long syllable so that it too has the same time of a crotchet and a quaver. This is effected by musical *τονή*

§ 14 Great uncertainty attends the exact scansion of many lyrical metres. For instance, the first Ode of Horace<sup>2</sup> may be scanned in several ways. The second

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting article on the *Rationale of Verse*, by E. A. Poe, who treats in this way Byron's musical poem, "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold." Cf. also Scott's "There is mist on the mountain" (Flora MacIvor's song).

<sup>2</sup> In what is called the Lesser Asclepiad metre. Cf. **Fragments 44, 61.**



§ 16 The Sapphic stanza<sup>1</sup> was rhythmically as follows —

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — — — — —

The first two lines are identical, and the third only differs from them in having two additional feet, generally written separately as a fourth line, but so closely connected with the third, as to allow, in Sappho, a word to be divided between them<sup>2</sup> The rhythm is logaoedic, and consists of trochees with a cyclic dactyl in the third place of the first three lines, and the first place of the fourth line In the second beat of the second foot a long syllable occurs, in the first line 29 times to 12 where it is short, in the second 25 to 14, in the third 23 to 16, making in all 77 lines with irrational long to 42 with the natural short In transferring the metre to Latin Horace made the irrational spondee invariable The addition to the third line is called the *Adonius*, from the refrain ὦ τὸν Ἀδωνιν,<sup>3</sup> being metrically a choriambus and a long syllable But it is really identical with the end of a hexameter line Victorinus calls it a δίμοιρον ἐπικόν

§ 17 It is not improbable that Alcaeus invented the metre, for the Alcaic metre is only a somewhat stronger form of it, the last syllable of the Sapphic being transferred to the beginning as anacrusis The Adonius must have been a favourite rhythm with Sappho, as according

<sup>1</sup> Called by Hephaestion Σαπφικὸν ἐνδεκασύλλαβον ἐπιχοριαμβικόν, compounded of discordant feet (choriambi and trochees)

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 3, lines 11 and 12

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 91 It does not seem to differ materially from our "Old Mother Hubbard"

to our own Irish Columban<sup>1</sup> she composed whole poems in this dimeter of five syllables

The poems must have been short ones for the continued repetition of such brief unvarying lines would soon pall by its monotony. Possibly the dimeter was sometimes doubled and a line formed of two adoniuses making such a line for instance as in Fragment 65 *Σκιδναμένας ἐν στῆθεσιν ὄργας* which may be rendered rhythmically —

— — — — — > — — — — — or — — — — — > — — — — — Λ<sup>2</sup>

§ 18 Another refrain of a similar character but a syllable longer is found in \*Ω τὸν Ἀδωνιοι<sup>3</sup>. It can be scanned as two dactyls or as a choriambus and iambus. In the former case the rhythm would be purely dactylic like our *What can the matter be?* in the latter a cyclic dactyl a trochee and a long syllable filled out by the musical rest to the value of a trochee.

A Glyconic verse is found in Fragment 97<sup>4</sup> consisting of a trochee as basis (or anacrusis) and two dactyls (or dactyl trochee and — Λ). There is a similar verse in Fragment 7 lines 1 and 2 in each stanza except that the basis has an irrational spondee as often as a trochee. Line 2 in each stanza of Fragment 6<sup>5</sup> presents some different features in that in two instances out of six it transposes the dactyl and trochee which shows that the line is a logaoedic tetrameter and the basis in one instance is like an anacrusis consisting of two shorts. Abdy Williams thinks that Glyconics (but those he

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. ad Fedolium*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Little Jack Horner Sat in a corner*. But Sappho's metre may be dactylic tetrameter.

Cf. Fragments 92, 93, called by Mar. Plotius the hymeneal dactylic dimeter.

<sup>4</sup> From Book V as Athenaeus tells us. The Glyconic is used by Horace in his Third *Asclepiad* i, 3 13 19 etc. Cf. also Fragment 157.

<sup>5</sup> See §§ 23 32.

quotes are somewhat different) have "a dance-like and amorous lilt"

§ 19 Two wedding rhythms, **Fragment 124, 126**, resemble the last half of a Sapphic line, viz ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα, repeated. And the **Fragment 122**, another wedding measure,<sup>1</sup> is the same, with a basis. The famous "Night Vigil" δέδυκε μὲν ἃ σελάσσα, has a similar metre, but with anacrusis, which choriambi do not admit. The grammarians take the measure to be Ionic, which, being soft and languishing, suits the character of the poem.

§ 20 In the lines attributed to Alcaeus (under **Fragment 27**), where he hints at some kind of proposal to Sappho, he uses a metre which is neither Alcaic nor Sapphic, but like both, being a Sapphic line with anacrusis and having one syllable more than the Alcaic. Sappho answers him in his own Alcaic stanza, intended no doubt by the compliment implied to soften the rebuke administered.<sup>2</sup>

The Alcaic rhythm is as follows —

1, 2	≡	ˊ —	ˊ ≡	ˊ — —	ˊ —	ˊ —	ˊ ^
3	≡	ˊ —	ˊ —	ˊ —	ˊ —	ˊ ≡	
4		— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	

§ 21 We find the metre of lines 1 and 2 of this stanza elsewhere, among Sappho's **Fragments**, only in 26, where the thought is not dissimilar from 27. **Fragment 154** might conceivably be the beginning of an Alcaic line.<sup>3</sup> The trochaic rhythm of line 3 does not appear

<sup>1</sup> Called by Hephaestion the nine-syllabled Sapphic, or Choriambic with iambic close.

<sup>2</sup> Headlam, *JHS* 1902, vol. xii, quotes Hephaestion's description of this metre ἀκαταληκτικὸν περιττεῖον συλλαβῇ τῇ τετάρτῃ, καλούμενον δ' Ἀλκαϊκὸν δωδεκασύλλαβον.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 37 below.









and also perhaps, without basis (in the first line), in **44**. It is the metre of *Maecenas atavis edite regibus* **Fragment 99** may be made to conform to it by adding  $\textcircled{\Omega}$   $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\pi\phi\omicron\iota$  at the beginning. Similarly **Fragments 64** and **112** depend for their conformity on conjectural restoration. The few syllables of **103** may be the beginning of such a line.

§ 29 Allied to the choriambic measures are the *Ionic a maiore* and *Ionic a minore* (— — — — — — — —) They show excitement, enthusiasm, or anxiety, but less emotional feeling than choriambi. The *a minore* was a somewhat stronger rhythm than the other, beginning as it did with an anacrusis<sup>1</sup>. Owing to the irregularities allowed in this measure by the use of trochees, which break up the metre ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ),<sup>2</sup> it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it (especially when consecutive lines are so few) from logaoedics. From Sappho's fondness for them, Ionics were called Aeolic. Dr Glazebrook gives as a specimen of this metre in English —

For the great gifts he has granted  
To Prometheus we are grateful,  
But for Zeus, that wretched upstart,  
We can only call him hateful

But whether that is the true scansion of his lines is, I think, open to much doubt.

§ 30 Of the *Ionics a maiore*, used by Sappho in her Fourth Book, and taken in couplets, examples occur in **Fragment 16**, called by Hephaestion *Ionic a maiore* with trochaic dipody (aeolic tetrameter catalectic), and **22**.

<sup>1</sup> Horace uses it once, *Od.* iii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> By the use of a double trochee for an Ionic foot.

But Fragment 12, σὺ δὲ στέφανος ὦ Δικα πέρθεσθ  
 ἐράταις φόβαισιν and 41

ἐγὼ δὲ φιλῆμ ἀβροσυναν — ~ ~ — ~ καὶ μοι  
 as they have anacrusis cannot presumably be taken  
 as choriambic. Wilamowitz considers them to be Ionics  
 But they have seemingly a choriambic character

§ 31 The Ionic a minore is found in the acatalectic  
 trimeter (83)

τί με Πανδίωνις ὠρανα χελιδων  
 the whole poem of which this is the first line being as  
 Hephaestion tells us in the same metre Fragment 94  
 is in an irregular form of the same metre

Among other examples of irregular Ionics may be classed  
 the folk-song (53) from the end of Sappho's Book VII  
 But Hephaestion scans it as a tetrameter antispastically  
 consisting of three iambs and a glyconic line

— — — — | — — — — — — — —

But Farnell and West Smyth break up the long line into  
 two and scan—

~ — ~ — ~ — — ^  
 ~ ~ — ~ — ~ — — ^

making the rhythm logaoedic<sup>1</sup> So also Fragment 73,  
 claimed for Sappho by Wilamowitz may be irregular  
 ionic or logaoedic The same may be said of πλήρης  
 μὲν ἐφαίρετ α σελάννα<sup>2</sup> (Fragment 76) which Hephaestion  
 calls Praxilleian ionic trimeter brachycatalectic

Fragment 71 has been given above as logaoedic<sup>3</sup> But  
 some grammarians take it as irregular ionic which suits  
 the character of the poem better However Neue  
 points out that in this case there is a hiatus between the  
 third and fourth lines It may be a trochaic trimeter

<sup>1</sup> I have now followed this scheme.

See also § 22, where 153 also is mentioned

<sup>2</sup> See § 18



Fragments 104, 154, are quite uncertain but they may be in ionics

§ 33 It is somewhat easier to analyze the dactylic metres used by Sappho To begin with we may perhaps dismiss the elegiac pentameter as a metre used by her It is true that Suidas says she wrote *ἐπιγράμματα* and Ovid in his *Epistle to Phaon* (l. 27) attributes to Sappho the writing of elegies, while the Anthol. Palatina<sup>1</sup> has three epigrams purporting to be by her But the latter are probably spurious and though they are happily *βαία* to use Meleager's phrase they are certainly not *ρόδα* We find however examples of the Epic hexameter<sup>2</sup> though this in Sappho mostly begins with a spondee which almost has the character of a basis The metre is found chiefly in epithalamia as in Fragments 129<sup>3</sup> 133, 134, 136, 137 probably in 127, 128, 131 132, 148, 150 possibly also in 74 and 111 It is doubtful whether 171 is by Sappho

The Aeolic pentameter occurs three or four times It corresponds to the last four feet of a hexameter line with basis It would be well represented by our nursery line *Willy boy Willy boy where are you going?* if we added at the beginning *Tell me!* as a basis or if we substituted an anacrusis for the basis and lengthened the last syllable by the musical rest we could quote as an illustration *There was an old woman who lived in a shoe* An instance in Sappho is Fragment 84—

*\*Ἥρος ἄγγελος ἡμεροφώνος ἀηδων*

where *ἥρος* is a basis In Fragment 52 we get the same metre by reading *παις* not *πᾶς* as usually in Sappho

<sup>1</sup> See Fragments 163, 164, 165

<sup>2</sup> The *ἔπος* or *μέτρο ἑρμαιεύον* which Heph. calls Aeolic and Sapphic.

<sup>3</sup> But it is difficult to make the second line into a hexameter

§ 34 Two very similar lines in **Fragment 125**—

*Τίω σ', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως εἰκάσδω,  
 ὄρπακι βραδίνῳ σε κάλιστ' εἰκάσδω,*

are taken by Farnell and Weir Smyth as basis with three logaoedic dactyls ("cyclic" in Weir Smyth, "choreic" in Farnell, the latter probably correctly) followed by a trochee. There does not, however, seem any very obvious reason why they should not be similar to 34 in the last section. The scansion of 149<sup>1</sup> and 153 is uncertain.

Speaking of a heterogeneous (asynartetic) metre used by Archilochus, Hephaestion says that its first half can be divided as a three-foot anapaestic if it begin with a spondee, like Sappho's **Fragment 109**. *Αὔτα δὲ σύ, Καλλιόπα*, but whether the poem, from which this is an extract, was in anapaests we have no means of knowing. It could be dactylic with anacrusis. The whole of Sappho's second Book was composed of the dactylic pentameter of fourteen syllables, with basis, in couplets. Hephaestion says that Sappho invented the metre. However, as these end in two trochees, the dactyls are not true dactyls, but choreic dactyls in three-eighths time. The rhythm therefore is logaoedic,

$\underline{x} \cong \underline{\quad} \cup \cup \underline{\quad} \cup \cup \underline{\quad} \cup \cup \underline{\quad} \cup \cup \underline{\quad} \wedge$

Such are also **Fragments 17, 18, 29, 43, 47, 58** (probably), **59, 60, 63, 141**, and possibly **45, 143**.

There is also a dactylic Aeolic tetrameter acatalectic<sup>2</sup> of eleven syllables with anacrusis, similar to the last-mentioned, but shorter by a dactyl, e.g. **Fragments 7**

<sup>1</sup> Classed by grammarians as tetrameter catalectic. So also perhaps 148.

<sup>2</sup> Mar Victor illustrates by the line *ραφῦντ' ἡδὲς αἰὲς Μαινάδες*

(every third line) 10 30 40 60 138<sup>1</sup> possibly 145 (from Book II) and 150

§ 35 We have no means of judging whether Sappho used purely trochaic rhythms but it is inherently probable that she did<sup>2</sup> Servius attributes to her the trochaic pentapody but it is not found in our extant fragments unless with anacrusis in Fragment 121 or possibly 158, if that line is by her The scansion of Fragments 40 107, is too uncertain to give us any help But 54 is an interesting instance of the difference between ancient and modern metricians in the matter of scansion The three lines—

Ἔστι μοι καλά πάντες χρυσοῖσιν αἰθέροισιν  
ἐμφέρον ἔχουσα μόρφαν ἡλῆϊς αγα-άτα  
ὥτι τὰς ἔγω οὐδὲ Λυδῖαι παῖσαν οὐδ' ἔρασαν

are scanned by Hephaestion who apparently read Ἀλεεῦις —

— — — — —  
— — — — —  
— — — — —

which is so complicated as to be quite improbable The moderns using synizesis in χρυσοῖσιν and Λυδιαν give the rhythms as—

— — — — — > — — — —

namely eight trochees one irrational one syncopated one made up with the musical rest The metre is like our familiar *If a body meet a body* or *Simple Simon met a pie-man going to the fair*

<sup>1</sup> Weir Smyth gives the dactyls as cyclic In that case the line should scan

— — — — — — — —

<sup>2</sup> Cf 118 mentioned § 30 Cf. *There I met an old man he could not say his prayers*



in antiquity <sup>1</sup> There were two of these the earlier one brought out (it is supposed) by Aristophanes of Byzantium <sup>2</sup> and arranged according to subject matter He was at the head of a school of grammarians who published new critical editions of Homer Alcaeus Sappho Anacreon and others We know practically nothing about this edition But as the *Epithalamia* were according to Servius <sup>3</sup> in a separate book the edition to which he refers must have been arranged by subjects unless the wedding songs were made an exception This is possible owing to their being choral in character whereas the other poems were monodic or for single voices Some think that the Hymns to the Gods were also a separate book which may have been entitled *Nόμοι*

§ 39 The other edition according to metres was brought out somewhat later than the former by Aristarchus of Samothrace and was the one generally used by the subsequent grammarians and metricians Edmonds suggests that the second editor took the poems from the first edition and simply arranged them in the order in which he found them but by metres This would explain why if the *epithalamia* were in the last book in two or three instances among the papyrus fragments there is an *epithalamium* found at the end of a book Thus the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1231 shows us that the last poem in Book I of the metrical edition (from which it appears to be taken) was an *epithalamium* <sup>4</sup> and that the last poem in a collection called *Σαφούς μέλη*

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of these see Edmonds *Class Quart* Jan. 1922, pp. 10 ff

<sup>2</sup> Hephaestion *περὶ σμύκης* 138

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Verg Georg* iii 31 Wilamowitz thinks these may have formed the eighth Book but they are generally assigned to the ninth and last.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment 142.



was a narrative epithalamium,<sup>1</sup> a quotation from which is ascribed by Athenaeus to Book II. Moreover, **Fragment 53**, which Edmonds (from whom I take the above suggestion) thinks may conceivably be part of an epithalamium, stood at the end of the VIIth Book.<sup>2</sup> Another sign of the existence of two separate editions is afforded by the fact that some fragments quoted from specified books have metres not in accordance with the evidence of grammarians on this subject.<sup>3</sup>

§ 40 Book I This contained, as we learn from many sources, all the poems in Sapphic metre.<sup>4</sup> They were no doubt chosen to stand first because of their being the most numerous and the most characteristic of Sappho, the metre perhaps being her invention.

Book II This was composed entirely of poems in the fourteen-syllabled acatalectic Aeolic (or Sapphic<sup>5</sup>) pentameter, viz  $\underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \underline{\quad}$ . The lines were in couplet stanzas, and the numbers were even, no extra line being allowed, and all the lines were alike. This arrangement of stanzas (*συστήματα*) is called by Hephaestion "common" (*κοινά*).<sup>6</sup>

Book III This consisted entirely of the sixteen-syllabled acatalectic Sapphic choriambic tetrameter with basis, e g

$\quad \quad \quad \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \quad \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \quad \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \quad \quad \underline{\quad}$

and was, like Book II, in couplet stanzas of even numbers

<sup>1</sup> If, indeed, **Fragment 141** is an epithalamium and by Sappho (which Wilamowitz doubts)

<sup>2</sup> Taking Bergk's emendation *ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ* in the text of Heph

<sup>3</sup> See Bergk, *Greek Lyric Poets*, Introd. to Sappho

<sup>4</sup> In the Logaoedic metre, composed of discordant feet (*genus asynartelium*)

<sup>5</sup> Some attributed its invention to Sappho

<sup>6</sup> But **Fragments 143, 145, 166**, are also quoted as from Book II, and they do not conform to the above metre. See § 39 note



frequent type of tetrameter has only its second dipody antispastic Bergk considers the metre as asynartetic Iambic

Book VIII We learn from Photius<sup>1</sup> that Sopater the Sophist in the second book of his extracts from many excellent histories and writings made selections from Sappho's eighth Book as well as from the *Epitomes* of Pamphila, and from *The Virtuous Acts of Women*, by Artemon, the Magnesian, and the *Apothegms* of Diogenes the Cynic This seems a somewhat strange association in which to find Sappho's poetry But from the nature of the case it would appear that the components of the eighth Book could not have been arranged by metre We must suppose, therefore, that this was the eighth book in the edition by Aristophanes

Book IX The epithalamia<sup>2</sup> were possibly grouped together in this book, if not in the eighth, of the same edition as the last

§ 41 The poems of Sappho were monostrophic, no antistrophé or epode being used Some of her poems were monoschematic, all the lines being alike, in others she introduced different metres Most of her songs were monodies, i e sung by single voices, others, like some at least of the epithalamia, were choral Edmonds has raised the question whether some of her poems were not for reading or recitation only, and he instances such pieces as **Fragments 3, 7, 9, 27**, but perhaps we shall be safer in regarding all her poems as intended to be sung They are called μέλη λυρικά,<sup>3</sup> or ἐρωτικά (μέλη)<sup>4</sup> Her various designations are μουσοποιός (Herodotus), αἰδοπόλος

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl* 161

<sup>2</sup> See Serv ad Verg, *Georg* 1, 31 They are also referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus

<sup>3</sup> *Suidas*

<sup>4</sup> *Pausan* 1, 25, 1

(Tullius Laurea) *λυρικὴ* (Laurea Suidas Schol to Plato) *μελοποιός* (Lucian)

She wrote in the Lesbian Aeolic dialect which only recognized the smooth breathing and always threw back the accent except on adverbs and prepositions. But the universality of the rule is disputed by Wilamowitz and others. In this edition the rule has been made invariable to avoid the difficulties of decision in individual instances. The digamma is recognized in some words and disregarded in others. It is sometimes found written on the papyrus MSS as for instance in line 6 of the facsimile reproduced on p 90 above.



From a vellum fragment in the Berlin Museum brought to notice by Professor Ibscher and printed by Mr Lobel on p 80 of his edition by the permission of Professor Schubart in anticipation of its appearance in his own edition

To follow fragment 6, p 85 above

γαρυ[       ]αλον . . ντο μέσσον

υμρ . . . ον οὐ α μι θέαισι μόρ

φαν ἐπη . . ν ἔξις

θόαις'υ ο ετ . . νιδηον

25 . . . τα . . . ρατι

μ μερος

καὶ δ μ . . ος Ἀφροδίτα

κὰδ δ . . νέκταρ ἔχευ' ἀπὸ

χρυσίας λοῖτα

30 ε ι πείθω

σενη

σ

αγωδαι

το Γεραίστιον

35 υν φίλα

υστον οὐδενο

ερον ἰξο

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# VOCABULARY, GLOSSARY, AND INDEX OF NAMES

4 query signifies that the word is doubtfully Sappho's a dot under a letter that it is uncertain and a line under a letter that it is conjecturally supplied Words that are corrupt are obelized Words only found in Sappho have an asterisk

## Δ

δ (= ῥ), 4 l. 13, 3 l. 5, 6 l. 9, 6 l. 13,  
5 l. 54 l. 2, 66 l. 2 7 l. 76 δ (rox)  
121 as demonstrative (= she)  
8 l. 6 as relative see also  
(= ῥ) 7 l. 3 7 ῥ 163 l. 5,  
7 ῥ 165 l. 3 αἰ (= αἰ) 76 l. 2  
δβδάκη (so Hecychius and Etym. M  
for δβδάκη) lit. speechless =  
quiet, gentle or possibly child  
like 44 l. 2  
δβλάβητ 9 l. 1  
δβρος 90 l. 1 δβρα (fem nom ?)  
Ox. Pap 123 l. 18 l. 4 δβραν  
141 l. 7 δβραι, 120 δβραις  
144 ? Ox. Pap 178 37 l. 3  
δβροτέρα, ? 159 δβρωτ 89 l. 2  
δβροσίταν 41 l. 24  
δβρόταν (?) Ox. Pap 178 9 l. 3  
or δμείβροταν  
δγαθος 63 l. 2 see also δριστο  
δγαπεία, 34 l. 2 86 l. 8 δγαπείαν  
41 l. 21  
δγατ 21 l. 12 77  
δγάνη, 86 l. 10 δγάνης 6 l. 16  
αγαθε 31 l. 7  
δγγελος, 84 141 l. 3  
δγλαία, 9 l. 14  
δγραι, 119 δγραι (πρωί fl) 107  
l. 13 δγρον 141 l. 22 26 δγρον  
(Alcaeus, of Sappho) 27  
[δγρονμ] Flare 4 l. 9

δγραι, 4 l. 14  
δγροῦσιν 13 l. 2 δγροῦσιν 13  
l. 1  
δγ[ρον] (?) δμρον 21 l. 14  
δγχι (Ox. Pap. 1232, 1 l. 9) 143 l. 9  
δ[γχι] δγχι 2 δγχι (= δγχι)  
143 l. 9 δγχι (= αγχι)  
141 l. 5 δγχι (= δγχι) 3 l. 19,  
1492 δγχι (= ῥον) 3 l. 9  
δγχι 141 l. 4 δγχι (= αγχι)  
Petrk, 159 (Schol. Hom., Il.  
xxiii, 241) δχθι (Ox. Pap.  
178 2 l. 3 ? = ῥχθι) 41 l.  
? αδε (= ῥδε) 164 l. 1  
δδλφας Ox. Pap 123 l. 21 l. 2  
δδικη (= δδικη) 3 l. 20  
δδοκῆτω (= δδοκῆτω) Ox. Pap  
123 l. 2  
αδολο 39 l. 11  
δδλωτ 7 l. 2  
δομαι (= ῥδομαι) 21 l. 12  
δδρα, Ox. Pap 123 l. 30 l. 4  
αδ (= ῥδ) 4 l. 3 αδων 86 l. 3  
see also under δδν  
δδύλογοι, Ox. Pap 1787 11 l. 2  
δδμελειστέρα (see δμμελειστέρα) 1392  
δδ μέλητ 141 l. 26  
δδφωτον 160  
[δδδω] δδδω, 38 l. 7 δδδω (= δδδω) 142 l. 7 δδδω,  
31 l. 2 δδδω 31 l. 9; δδδω  
ίμρ 141 l. 26



αἵκες, 40 l 8, οὐδὲν αἵκες, Hom, Od 20, 366  
 ἀέκουσα (= ἀέκουσα), 7 l 6  
 ἀελίω (= ἡλίω), 6 l 8, 41 l 25, ἀλίω, 23 l 1  
 ἀέρρατε (= ἀείρατε), 136 l 2  
 ἀήδων, 84, ἀῆδοι (= ἀήδονες?), 38 l 7  
 ἀῆταις (? acc), 85 l 9  
 ἀθανάτε, 3 l 1, ἀθανάτω, 3 l 14, ? ἀθάνατοι, 169, ἀθάναν', Ox Pap 1787, 8 l 1  
 ἀθύρματα, 87 l 8, 141 l 9 (Edm ἀθρήματα, gifts among the Lesbians sent to a bride by her relations)  
 αἶ (= εἶ), 3 l 5, 3 l 21, 3 l 22, 3 l 23, 7 l 10, 9 l 17, 27 l 1, 56 l 1, ? 163, ? Ox Pap 1787, 8 l 6, αἶπερ, 64 l 2, αἶθ', 88 l 1  
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 αἶτιον, Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 6  
 αἰψα, 3 l 13, Ox Pap 1787, 44 l 5, αἰψ (Bergk), αἰψα, 75 l 2  
 ἄκακος, one who has had no experience of evil Bekk, *Anecd* 1, 370, 14, Bergk, 149  
 ἄκαλα, 143 l 5, Hesychius, ἄκαλον = ἡσυχον But there is a form, quoted by grammarians, ἡκαλος from ἡκα  
 ? ἀκαμάταν, 163 l 2  
 ἀκοῖτιν, 41 l 21  
 ἀκουαι (= ears for ἀκοαί), 4 l 12

ἀκούην (? = ἀκούειν), Ox Pap 1787, 40 l 3  
 ἄκρον, ? 66 l 2, 133 l 2, ἄκρω, 133 l 1, ἀκροτάτω, 133 l 2  
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 \*ἀλγεσίδωρον, of Eros, 102  
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 ἄλλως, 9 l 15  
 ἄλμυρον, 141 l 7, ἀλμύραν, 6 l 11  
 ἄλος (ἄλς), 6 l 21  
 ἄλσος, 7 l 28, Berl *Klassikertexte*, 9722, 3 l 14  
 ἄμα, 141 l 15  
 ἀμαμάξυδες, vines trained on two poles quoted Etym M 77, 1, Cheroboscus, 1, 357, τὸ γὰρ παρὰ Σαπφοῦ ἀμαμαξύδος παράλογόν ἐστιν Bergk, 150

- αμαρα, an irrigation trench said  
 (Orion, iii, 2) to have occurred in  
 ἑπομνήματι Σαυφούς Bergk, 131  
 ἀμάρωμα, 8 l. 18  
 ἀμάχανον (= ἀμηχανον) 46 l. 2  
 ἀμαδρον 24 l. 2  
 ἀμβροσίας (here = nectar) 140 l. 1  
 ἀμβροτε (= ἡμαρτε cf. Amreeta  
 Cup the Cup of Immortality in  
 Southey's *Curse of Hekame* so  
 number etc. in English) 9 l. 3,  
 10 l. 5 (ἀμβροτε)  
 ἀμειβόμεν (= ἡμειβάμεν) 7 l. 7  
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*Griech Dial.*, p. 483) ἀμμα,  
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 133 l. 1 ἀμμα (= ἡμαε) 9 l. 7  
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βᾶλλαι, Ox. Pap 1787 11 L 8

βῖσα, *ibid.*, 2 L 4

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βάρβιτος (also σάρβιτος) a foreign word for a musical instrument, probably here the seven-stringed tortoiseshell lyre, Bergk, 154

βάρμος (or βάρμος Athen 1v 182 F) a musical instrument, Athen. xiv 636 C Bergk, 154

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βαῖδος = κυβερικόν described by Pollux (7 L 49) as διαφανές τις χιτωνικός Bergk, 155

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βόρηται (= βαρεῖαι) If there were a word from βόρδ like *vorare* in Latin, it would come in well here βόρδισαν acc sing., 53 L 2 βόρδισος 125 L 2

βόρδεια (= βόρδεια) 15 L 3 generally taken to mean "rage" but Theocr 28 L 11 in his Aeolic idyll uses it in the sense of a rich robe of transparent stuff cf. Hesych. βόρδεις. ἱμάτιον πολυτελες

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βρόδωνθι (Edm.) 5 L 2 Diehl reads πῶδωνθι, but the last α of Γόγγυλα requires to be long

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Fick reads βρόχως = from the gullet Edm. βρόχως a proper name, which seems wanted and corresponds to *Lesbia* in Catullus translation. Hesych. βροχίως (text uncertain) σαφῶς, συντομῶς *Alols* 4 L 7

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 l. 1 τίσι (=*τίσις*) 154

τοκίων (τοκίος) 8 l. 10  
 τόλμαν Ox. Pap. 1251 17 l. 6  
 τόλμ Ox. Pap. 1787 45  
 l. 2

? τόλματον 4 l. 17  
 τοί (for ποί) 6 l. 18 τοί 15 l. 2  
 τότε, 5 l. 7  
 τρίχες 41 l. 15  
 τρομέρις 31 l. 3  
 τρόμος 4 l. 15

τρόπα Hesych. δρόματα φ  
 βάμματα δρόπα, 141 l. 9

τρόπο 59 l. 7  
 τρύχαια ποτ δεινύχαια, 22a  
 τρέδε (= τρέδε) 5 l. 5 6 l. 3 9 l. 2  
 ? 175  
 τύλαν 145 l. 2 146  
 τόχρ, 85 l. 4, Ox. Pap. 1251 5 l. 5

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 υακίνθιο) 112 l. 1

υακινθον 134 l. 1  
 υγίαιαν 156

υδαρ, 72 l. 1 υδατος ? 159d  
 υμεις (= υμεις) 155 ? 166

υμιν 55 l. 1  
 υμοι (= υμοι) 7 l. 14

υμεις (= υμεις) 59 l. 2 41 l. 0  
 υμην for υμηναν (υμνημι) 141 l. 32

υπά (= υπά) 141 l. 15  
 ? acc. 141 l. 17 υπ Ox. Pap.  
 1787 39 l. 5

υπαγο (= υπαγο) 141 l. 17  
 υπαδ δρομάκεν (υποτρέχω) 4 l. 10  
 υπασθενέουσα (= υποτρέφασα) 3 l. 9  
 υπαθύμ δας Athen. (xv 675) says  
 used by the Lesbians for a myrtle  
 branch bound with violets and  
 other flowers 7 l. 16

? υπα ακχέι, 80 l. 1  
 υπακούει, 4 l. 4

? υπέρ, Berl. Klass. Texte, P 9722  
 5 l. 5

υπίσσω (= δπίσσω) Ox. Pap. 1251  
 2 l. 7

υπρος or Υπρος 87 l. 5 ύπρον  
 142 l. 12

? υσσάκε (γεν. = πασάδου) a peg  
 167

υσθρ (= υσθρ) 155 l. 1 υσθαν  
 72 l. 2

υστερο (edd. for MS. ύτερον) 24 l. 2

## Φ

φάεινον (= φαινό) 75 l. 2  
 φαίμη (= φημι) 57 l. 1 59 φαίσι

(= φησι) 149a (= φαι) 8 l. 2  
 112 l. 1 see also εἶπον

[φάινω] φαίνε (read in MS. by  
 Edm.) 55 l. 2 φαίνομαι, 4 l. 16

φαίνεταί, 4 l. 1 (see also note to  
 Fragm. 4 and Bergk 111)

εἰφαίνο, 18 l. 5 εἰφαίνοτο 76 l. 1  
 φαίνολις 129 l. 1 of Dawn, cf.

Hymn to Demeter 51 (Ruhnken)  
 φάμα, 141 l. 12

φάος 6 l. 10 25 l. 1  
 [φάει] φάει 129 l. 1 bis φάειν

129 l. 1 φάεισα (= φάεισα)  
 41 l. 19 φάεισι (= φάεισι) 41  
 l. 14 φάειν 42 l. 2

φάειν, 5 l. 21  
 [φάει] φάει (= φάει) 86 l. 11

φάμιναν 41 l. 22  
 φάλαι, 141 l. 51

φάλα, 6 l. 55 [φά]λοις 13 l. 7

φίλημι or φίλημμι, 41 l 24,  
 φίλησθα, 36 l 2, φίλει, 3 l 23,  
 φιλει 41 l 27, φιλήσει,  
 3 l 23, φίλεισαν (or ἔφαισαν),  
 8 l 12, ἐφίλησ', O<sup>x</sup> Pap 1787,  
 5 l 4

φίλος, 26 l 1, 28 l 1, 141 l 11, φίλε,  
 41 l 11, 125 l 1, φίλαι, 6 l 35,  
 111, 143 l 8, φίλων, 8 l 10,  
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1 ? φλόγιον (*dimin* of φλόξ ?), 80 l 2  
 φόβαισιν, 12 l 1

φοῖταις, 87 l 2, φοιτάσεις, 24 l 4

φόρτις, 85 l 14

φρένα, 6 l 18, 30 l 1, 44 l 2, 45 l 2,  
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 13 l 2, χαίροισα (= χαίρουσα),  
 7 l 8, χαίροις (Neue χαίροισθα  
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 165 l 3, χαιρο O<sup>x</sup> Pap  
 1787, 26 l 4

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 χαριεν, 126 l 1

χάριν, 26 l 2, χάριτος, 12 l 7

χαρισσαμεν O<sup>x</sup> Pap 1231, 50  
 l 2

χιμῶν O<sup>x</sup> Pap 1231, 12 l 6  
 [χείρ] ? χέρι (or χεριθ ), O<sup>x</sup> Pap  
 1787, 9 l 3, χέρσιν, 12 l 2

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χέλυ, 2 l 1

χελύναν, *gen plur*, 41 l 11

Probably from χέλυς but Orion  
 28, 18, says from χελώνη  
 Bergh, 169

χέραδας, as if *acc plur* from  
 χέρυς, but *nom* seems to be  
 τὸ χεράδος, a dialectical form  
 from Pontus The Scholiast  
 Apoll Rhod 1123 says χεράδος  
 ἢ τῶν βραχέων λίθων συλλογή  
 ἢ χεράδες (γέραδες) λέγονται οἱ  
 μικροὶ σωροὶ τῶν λίθων In  
 Etym M So8, 37, the word is  
 glossed as τὰ παραθαλασσια  
 σκύβαλα, i.e. refuse thrown up  
 by the sea, or flotsam and  
 jetsam 68

χερρόμακτρα (= χειρόμακτρα) lit  
 napkins, but used for head  
 cloths, 97 l 1

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χθόν', O<sup>x</sup> Pap 1231, 26 l 2

χίτωνας, 90 l 2

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χρόνω, ? 35 l 3, χρόνον, 23 l 2

[χρώς] χρώ (= χροῖ), 9 l 13,

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\*χρυσαστράγαλοι, with golden  
 ankles, an epithet of φάλαι  
 i.e. cups with golden feet instead  
 of hollow bottoms Pollux, vi,

99, δ φάετορ οὐκ ἔχει πνεύματα  
 ἀλλ' ἀσπράλλουσιν Bergk, 170  
 χρύσεια, 74  
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 οιν 54 L 1 χρύσειαιον P9b L 2  
 χρύσεη ? 108 L 1 ? 127  
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 118; χρύσιος 6 L 29  
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 ψάφος, 7 L 29, 141 L 27  
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 ψυχρον must mean "coolness"  
 72 L 2 ψάχος (but Pick reads  
 ψάχρος = swift) 79 L 1

## Ω

ω, 3 L 13 3 L 19, 12 L 1 21 L 10,  
 22 L 1 83 (if ω βαννα be read acc  
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 125 L 1 127 bis, 143 L 8  
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 10 L 3  
 ως thus 141 L 11 141 L 25 (στ =  
 when")  
 ως "when" 4 L 7 76 L 2 ? 141 L 25  
 ως as ? 167  
 ως Ox. Pap. 1231 36 L 2  
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*Νύμφαι* (*καί*) gardens of the Nymphs, 161 cf. 74  
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 The daughters of Penthillus were members of a Lesbian clan, who claimed descent from Penthillus son of Orestes, leader of a colony to Lesbos. To this clan belonged Dracon, whose sister married the dictator Pittacus. This is the only allusion to political affairs in our extant remains of Sappho  
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*Υπνος*, 87 l. 2  
*Φαίθων* 110 l. 8  
 ? *Φάων* Palaiphatos, *De Incred.* 49 οὗτος δ' Φάων ἐστὶν ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτῆς (i.e. of Aphro-



dite) ἡ Σαπφῶ πολλάκις ἄσμα	ῥ Φερσεφόνας, 164 l 2
ἔποίησεν See Eudocia, 414,	Φοῖβος, 141 l 31
Apostolius, xx, 15, Ovid,	Φωκάας (= Φωκα(ας), 97 l 4
<i>Heroid</i> , xv, Bergk, 140, and cf	Ψάφφῳ, 3 l 20, 7 l 6, 98, 110
Wilam, <i>Sappho und Simonides</i> ,	l 5
p 34f	*Ωράνω (= Οὐρανοῦ), 101

## NOTES

An asterisk denotes that the word is not found elsewhere

(1) Gerstenhauer in his Dissertation on the Vocabulary of Sappho and Alcaeus (*Diss Philol Halenses*, xi, pt 2, 1894) has gone fully into this question. His conclusion is that about two-thirds of the Vocabulary is Epic, nearly all of it aeolized. But some words still keep their Epic form, such as καταρρέω and καταστείβω (add now ἡτίθεος and perhaps ἡερος). Epic, however, also had some Aeolic words such as ἔρος and κταίνω. In many cases the Lesbians used Epic words in new senses or in a different connexion, as ἀβακῆς, ἀέλιος, ἀμβροσία, ἄχαρις, γαμβρός, κελαδέω, λεπτός, ἀναπετάννυμι, δονέω, ἐκποτάομαι, κυκάω, ὀπτάω, ὄρπετον, ἔκτωρ, μέσαι νύκτες, ἀσινῆς, βασιλῆϊος.

Of the third part of the vocabulary, which cannot be traced to the earlier Epic writers some words are Aeolic, others unassignable to any particular dialect. Among these some have affinity to Epic words, others none, e.g. αὔδω, ἄωρος, δαύω, δοκίμωμι, ζάβατος, κίνδυν, ματεῖν, πεδέχω, περὶ = ὑπέρ, πλάζω = πλῆσσω, σπολέω, στάλαγμος, unique in its sense, ὕσδος, χέλυννα.

Nouns first used by Sappho are ἀμάμαξυς, ἄνητον (but also Alcaeus), μύρρα, νίτρον, ὤϊον, λάσιον, βάρωμος or βάρμος, βεῦδος, βρένθειον, γρύτῃ, δακτύλιος, ἡμιτύβιον, καρχήσιον, μάσλη, ὄλπις (or ἔρπις), πᾶκτις, ποτήριον, Σκύθικον ξύλον, τύλα, ὑπαθύμιδες, χερρόμακτρον, χλάμυν, ἄσα, πίσυγγοι, φόβα. All the other substantives have some connexion with Epic, e.g. παρθενία, μέλημα, πάλος, γάνος, Πείθω (the goddess), αἰπάρθετος, γλυκύμαλον, μαλοδρόπευς, μαψυλάκας, οἰκία, χέρας or χέραδος.

Adjectives first used by Sappho are ἄσαρος, and from Epic nouns μάλινος, τέρπνος, μαινόλας, φαινόλις, πλήρης, ἄκακος, ἀφάνης, and such as show Sappho's exquisite art ἀδυμέλης, ἀδύφωνος, ἀλγεσιδωρος, γλυκύπικρος, διάμειπος, δολόπλοκος, ἐμμέλης, ἐμφέρης, ἐμπορόγυιος,\* ἡμερόφωνος, ἰόκολπος (Alcaeus also), κατάρης\* (also Alcaeus), μελίφωνος or μελλιχόφωνος, μοισόπολος, μυθόπλοκος,\* παιδόφιλος,\* πάροικος, πεμπεβόρος,\* ποικιλόθρονος,\* πολύολβος, βροδόσφυρος, χρυσαστράγαλος,\* χρυσοφάης. Other words not found elsewhere in old writers are ἀμέργω, ἐπιρομβέω, αἰθύσσω, εἰκάζω, κρέκω, μεγαλύνω, πτερυγόομαι, σταλάσσω, φροντίζω, ἐκδιδάσκω, ἐκπονέω, εὐκλείζω, καταγρέω, κατερείκομαι, καττύπτω, στεφανηπλοκέω, συναείρω.

## (2) Dative in ι

We find θέοις, 4 L 1 39 L 3 140a 1 2 δατεφάκωτοις, 12 L 4  
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 ταῖς, 79 L 1 86 L 5 ? ταῖς, 89b χρυσοῖς, 152 L 2 φόβοις  
 12 L 1 κάλῳ 33 L 1 : νεβρί οἱ, 41 L 15 : Λυδαιοῖς, 61 7 : φάτοις,  
 96 ἔχθροισι, 9 L 7 ἔχθροισι 8 L 19 : Φοῖς, 9 L 6 : ἔτοις 9 L 11 :  
 παντοδαποῖς, 152 ὅτοις, 6 L 24 : αἱροῖς 144 : ? Οκ. Παρ. 1787 37 L 3

But also ? ἔρτοις 12 L 1 ἔταροις (? acc) 89b δόμοις 24 L 3  
 ὅτοις 141 L 21 152 L 1 : φόβοις 11 L 7 141 L 12

## (3) Digamma disregarded in—

ἴσοις 4 L 1 πλάσιον δὲ 107 L 1 φέροντες εἶδοις, 75 L 2 ἐπὶ α  
 ἔργα, 36 σένοιδα, 37 L 12 κάλον ἔργα 147 L 3 πέρθενον δδύρωτο  
 160 προσδοκῶν 23 L 1 ὅσον ἴδην 63 L 1 πᾶσι τοῖς δδμελεστέρας,  
 159 κ.τ.λ.

But required in 4 L 9 27 L 2 (Alcaeus) 6 L 5, 57 L 1 136 L 3 (Fίσσοις)  
 4 L 3 (and see note) 9 L 6, 103.





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